THE SPEROS BASIL VRYONIS CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF HELLENISM

NEWSLETTER / FALL 1994 VOLUME 4 NUMBER 1

IN MEMORIAM BASIL VLAVIANOS, 1903-1994

The Greek-American community and Hellenism in general have lost a heroic figure. The world of Greek letters in the United States and Greek-American journalism have been deprived of a pioneer, and the Vryonis Center has lost a great benefactor, Professor Basil Vlavianos.

Professor Vlavianos left this world on Monday, June 27, 1994, at the age of 91. At the time of his death, he lived in Alexandria, Virginia.

On behalf of the Vryonis Center, I would like to express our deep sorrow over the passing of Basil Vlavianos and convey our most sincere condolences to his family, especially his daughter Zita Hosmer and her family.

One of the most recent gestures of Professor Vlavianos was the donation of his library and archive to the Vryonis Center three years ago. The rich library and archive in many ways mirror the lifelong work of Basil Vlavianos, for they encompass a substantial part of the political, social, and cultural history of the Greek-American community over the last half-century.

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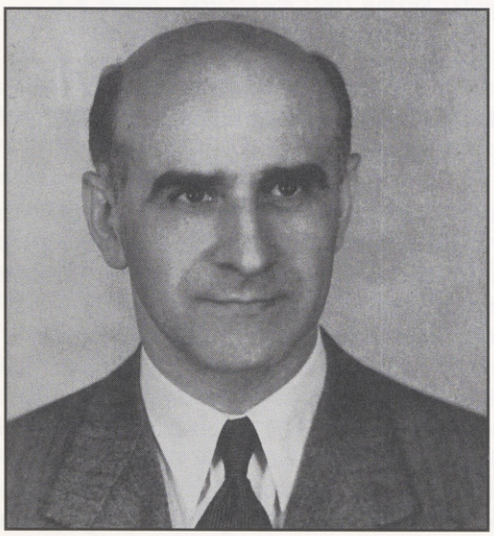

The late Basil Vlavianos in the early 1940s when he was publisher and editor-in-chief of the Greek-American newspaper Ethnikos Keryx *(National Herald).*

A NOTE FROM THE DIRECTOR

From May 12-14, 1994, the Vryonis Center held an important conference. A substantial part of this newsletter is dedicated to this meeting which was entitled "Greeks in English-Speaking Countries: Culture, Identity, Politics."

It was the first time that Greeks from Europe, Australia, and North America gathered for such an event in the United States. The participants also included representatives from Greece and Cyprus. For three days, the speakers presented papers, exchanged ideas, and engaged in lively discussions regarding the Hellenic diaspora in the Anglophone countries—the United States, Canada, Australia, and England.

On behalf of the Vryonis Center, I would like to express my deep appreciation to Susan M. Spencer, Editor of Publications at the Center, for her hard work in coordinating all aspects of the conference, and to the other staff members who ensured the smooth operation of the event, including Dr. James J. Reid, Senior Research Fellow; Janet Coles, Librarian; David Lindstrom, Assistant Librarian; William Econome, Data Base

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A NOTE FROM THE DIRECTOR

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Specialist; John Miller, former Library Assistant; and Joanna Sampanis, former Administrative Assistant.

The importance of the conference lies in three factors:

First, it was a significant step toward institutionalizing the dialogue among Greeks in the English-speaking world. When this meeting is held every two years, the dialogue which started in Melbourne in 1992 acquires meaning for the diaspora.

Second, in addition to providing a forum for exchanging ideas, the conference facilitated institutional linkages and personal contacts that are essential for carrying on the dialogue beyond the narrow time limits of such a conference.

Third, it provided the opportunity for a comparative analysis of the social, cultural, and political dynamics of the diaspora in the Anglophone countries. Such a comparative perspective has basically been missing from the research and literature on the Greek diasporic phenomenon. It is precisely in order to advance the comparative study of the Greek diaspora that the Vryonis Center will be publishing the proceedings of the Sacramento conference in 1995.

The dialogue concerning the diaspora, however, should not be confined to the English-speaking countries. The world diaspora and Greece should be integrated into this dialogue. One can envisage a triangular relationship. It would involve the Greeks of the English-speaking countries; the diaspora Greeks of the rest of the world, mainly Russia and the other former Soviet republics, non-English-speaking Europe, the Middle East, and Latin America; and Greece itself.

The Vryonis Center, in an effort to advance this triangular dialogue, will be one of the cosponsors of a world diaspora conference to be held in Nicosia in November 1995. The formation, last July, of the Coordinating Committee of the Research Institutes of Hellenism, which will organize the conference, is an additional step in the direction of promoting this triangular dialogue (for details, see page 4). The Coordinating Committee, which includes the participation of the Vryonis Center, is exploring ways to enhance the dialogue through electronic networking.

The goal of the Vryonis Center in carrying out these activities is to advance the study of Hellenism, while, at the same time, cultivating the global ties that bind the Hellenic diaspora. These ties are essential for the survival and preservation of Greek culture and identity among diaspora Greeks.

Dr. Christos P. Ioannides, Director

IN MEMORIAM

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In addition to reflecting his interest in Greek art, literature, and politics, the collection includes important material on the lifelong struggle of Professor Vlavianos for the causes of Hellenism and covers the multifaceted activities of the Greek-American community which advanced these causes. Indeed, throughout his life, Basil Vlavianos was a leading figure in the fight for democracy and human rights.

The dream of Basil Vlavianos was that his library and archive would become a source of education and enlightenment for the Greek-American community, especially the new generation. As the depository of the Vlavianos collection, the Vryonis Center is preserving this material as a continuous educational and cultural resource for the Greek-American community and the community at large. Students of the history of the Greek-American community since World War II will find the Vlavianos collection to be a valuable primary source for their research.

Although Basil Vlavianos has passed away, he has left behind a noble heritage, a life with meaning as reflected in his library and archive, a life dedicated to the lofty ideals of Hellenism. It is appropriate that the *New York Times* wrote the following in its obituary of Basil Vlavianos: "Mr. Vlavianos made Hellenism the central theme of his life's work."

The Speros Basil Vryonis Center for the Study of Hellenism is grateful to you, Basil Vlavianos. May you rest in eternal peace.

Dr. Christos P. Ioannides, Director

For more information on the life of Basil Vlavianos, see the Vryonis Center Spring 1993 Newsletter, pages 1-3.

VRYONIS CENTER TAKES PART IN CONFERENCES IN GREECE

A Cultural Strategy for Hellenism is Discussed at a Conference in Komotini

The director of the Vryonis Center, Dr. Christos P. Ioannides, presented a paper at an international conference in Komotini, Greece, July 8-9, 1994.

The conference, entitled "Cultural Identity and a Strategy for Hellenism," was organized by the Athens-based Institute for Research and Policy Strategy (INERPOST). The president of the institute is Ms. Louka Katseli, who is also Special Economic Advisor to Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou. The Scientific Director of INERPOST is Dr. Yiannis Freris.

A number of distinguished Greek academics, artists, and journalists participated in the conference, which was the first conference of its type to be held in Thrace. The Greek government was represented at the event by Minister of Education and Religious Affairs George Papandreou and Minister of Defense Gerasimos Arsenis. Both ministers addressed the conference at length.

Dr. Ioannides' paper was entitled "Toward a Cultural Strategy for Hellenism in the United States." In it, he examined the broader cultural milieu in which Greek Americans live. He proposed several concrete steps which should be taken in order to advance Greek education in the United States and preserve Greek cultural identity within the American ethnocultural mosaic.

Dr. Ioannides advanced the argument that grandiose plans to

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VRYONIS CENTER TAKES PART IN CONFERENCES IN GREECE

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promote Greek culture in the U.S. are bound to fail. Instead, he proposed three specific programs for furthering Greek culture which, in his view, are practical and can commence without delay.

The first program revolves around the establishment of new Greek schools in major Greek-American communities and the strengthening of existing schools. Most of these schools are run by the Greek Orthodox Church, while a few are run privately. The main objective of the new schools would be to teach the Greek language in a methodical manner to Greek-American children, but Greek history and culture should also be included in the curriculum. The teachers would be professionals who would teach full-time at these community schools.

The second program involves the establishment of a "Greek-American Hospitality Organization" (GAHO) (Helleno-Amerikanikos Organismos Philoxenias). The purpose of GAHO would be to organize summer visits to Greece for groups of Greek-American children on a systematic and continuous basis. The focus of the visits would be to introduce these American-born children to the land, history, and culture of their parents or grandparents. The experiences of these Greek-American children in Greece, which should be both pedagogic and recreational, would contribute greatly to the preservation of Greek heritage among Greek Americans. GAHO would have corresponding offices in Greece and the United States.

Participants in the Komotini conference. Seated, from left to right, Dr. Miltos Papanikolaou, Professor of Philosophy, University of Thessaloniki; Dr. Christos P. Ioannides, Director, Vryonis Center; Kostas Sofoulis, Member of Greek Parliament; Louka Katseli, Special Economic Advisor to Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou and President of INERPOST; Dr. Emilios Metaxopoulos, Vice Chancellor, Panteion University, Athens; Akis Kossonas, Journalist, General Manager of the National Radio Network (ERA) in Greece. Standing at podium, George Papandreou, Greek Minister of Education and Religious Affairs.

The third program pertains to the strengthening of existing Greek studies programs and the establishment of 25 new chairs for Greek studies in various American universities. According to Dr. Ioannides, an investment of $75 million for the 25 chairs would have a long-term impact on the preservation of Greek culture in the United States. The advancement of Greek studies in American universities would undoubtedly provide multiple benefits to Hellenism in general, Dr. Ioannides concluded.

The proceedings of the conference in Komotini will be published soon by INERPOST.

Conferences in Thessaloniki

"Ottoman Perceptions of Greeks and Armenians: 1850-1880" was the title of a paper presented by Vryonis Center Senior Research Fellow, Dr. James J. Reid, at a conference in Thessaloniki from October 31-November 2, 1994.

The conference, which explored the parallels between the histories of the Greeks and Armenians, was entitled "Greeks and Armenians in South-Eastern Europe and Asia Minor in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Aspects of Coexistence and Survival." It was organized by the Institute for Balkan Studies (IMXA) in Thessaloniki.

Dr. Reid's paper explored the views that Ottoman writers held of Ottoman society and, in particular, their views of Greeks and Armenians within that society. During the Middle Ages, the Ottoman sultan was seen as the representative of God on earth, and this idea survived in secular form in the nineteenth century, Dr. Reid said. It was within this context that Ottoman attitudes toward Greeks, Armenians, and Jews were formed.

Dr. Reid also took part in the Seventh International Congress for South-Eastern European Studies from August 29-September 3, 1994, at the University of Thessaloniki. The conference was organized by the International Association for South-Eastern European Studies, which held its last conference in Sofia in 1989.

Dr. Reid's paper, entitled "Irregular Military Bands and Colonies in the Balkans, 1789-1878," considered the emergence of vigilantism during the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. His analysis indicated that the increased insecurity of life in the Ottoman Empire caused large numbers of vigilantes to abandon law and custom as a means of regulating intercommunity violence. The result was chaos and the hastening of the Empire's end, he said.

Dr. Speros Vryonis, Jr., Professor of History at New York University and Vryonis Center Trustee, also participated in the conference by giving a paper on "*Prior Tempore Fortior Iure*: The Ethnogenetic Theories of the Balkan Peoples." The paper examined theories of ethnogenesis as developed by late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century writers in Greece, Turkey, Rumania, and Bulgaria.

The papers by Drs. Reid and Vryonis appeared in a volume entitled *Reports* which was published by the conference organizers for distribution at the event.

Dr. Nikolay Todorov, a Visiting Scholar at the Vryonis Center earlier this year, delivered the opening address of the conference on "The Development of the Nation States of the Balkans in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries." Dr. Todorov was serving as president of the International Association for South-Eastern European Studies at the time of the conference.

COORDINATING COMMITTEE OF THE RESEARCH INSTITUTES OF HELLENISM FORMED

First Conference to be Held in Nicosia in November 1995

Representatives of eleven social science research institutes having to do with various aspects of Hellenism in Greece, Cyprus, France, Australia, Canada, and the United States met in Athens last summer to discuss ways to advance closer cooperation. Also attending the meeting, on July 7, 1994, were representatives of the Greek and Cypriot foreign ministries.

During the meeting, which took place at the Intercontinental Hotel, the group decided to form a committee from among those present to foster this cooperation. It is called the Coordinating Committee of the Research Institutes of Hellenism (*Syntonistike Epitrope Ereunetikon Institouton Hellenismou*).

The Vryonis Center was represented at the meeting by its director, Dr. Christos P. Ioannides. Also participating were the secretary of the Hellenic Studies Forum in Melbourne, Australia, Demetra Egan, and the director of the Center for Hellenic Studies and Research in Montreal, Dr. Stephanos Constantinides, who both took part in the three-day conference organized by the Vryonis Center on "Greeks in English-Speaking Countries: Culture, Identity, Politics" in Sacramento, May 12-14, 1994 (see pages 5-17).

Greek research centers in Athens were represented by Dr. Theodore Couloumbis, Dr. Yiannis Valinakis, and P. Voudouris of the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP); Vassilis Konstantineas and Nikos Stylianides of the Institute of Mediterranean Studies; Dr. Yiannis Freris of the Institute for Research and Policy Strategy (INERPOST); George Spyropoulos of the Center for European Studies (EKEM); and Dr. Marios Evriviades of the Institute of International Studies, Panteion University.

In addition, Dr. John Hasiotis of the Institute for Balkan Studies (IMXA) in Thessaloniki took part. The Cyprus Research Center (KYKEM) in Nicosia was represented by Nikos Koutsou, and Dr. George Prevelakis of the Group for the Study of the Greek Diaspora, part of the National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS) in Paris, also attended.

The Cypriot Foreign Ministry was represented by the director of the ministry's Diaspora Office, Platon Kyriakides, while the Secretariat for Diaspora Greeks of the Greek Foreign Ministry sent Christos Dimitriou.

KYKEM Serves as Ad Hoc Secretariat

The new Coordinating Committee decided that KYKEM would serve as the ad hoc secretariat for 1994-1995. The main objective of the secretariat will be to organize the first world conference of the Research Institutes of Hellenism in Nicosia from November 9-11, 1995.

KYKEM will be the host of the conference and will be assisted in this capacity by the Coordinating Committee. The working topic of the conference is "Hellenism in a Global Village."

A conference of the Research Institutes of Hellenism will be held every other year, in odd-numbered years, and will complement the biennial conference on Greeks in English-speaking countries, which is held in even-numbered years.

The Vryonis Center will be coordinating Greek-American participation in the Nicosia conference. An announcement by the Center will be forthcoming as to the specifics of this conference.

The participants in the July meeting in Athens also discussed ways to link the research centers they represent through electronic networks.

The Coordinating Committee will convene a follow-up meeting in Athens in the fall of 1994 to finalize the program of the conference in Nicosia in November 1995.

Partial view of the participants in the meeting in Athens where the Coordinating Committee of the Research Institutes of Hellenism was formed. From left to right, George Spyropoulos, Center for European Studies (EKEM), Athens; Dr. Stephanos Constantinides, Center for Hellenic Studies and Research, Montreal; Dr. George Prevelakis, Group for the Study of the Greek Diaspora, National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS), Paris; Vassilis Konstantineas, Institute of Mediterranean Studies, Athens; Nikos Koutsou, Cyprus Research Center (KYKEM), Nicosia; Dr. Yiannis Freris, Institute for Research and Policy Strategy (INERPOST), Athens; Demetra Egan, Hellenic Studies Forum, Melbourne; Dr. Christos P. Ioannides, Vryonis Center; Platon Kyriakides, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Cyprus; P. Voudouris, Dr. Yiannis Valinakis, and Dr. Theodore Couloumbis, Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP), Athens.

GREEKS IN ENGLISH-SPEAKING COUNTRIES–CULTURE, IDENTITY, POLITICS: AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

CONFERENCE WAS THE FIRST OF ITS TYPE IN THE UNITED STATES

Forty-five speakers from three continents joined forces at a conference in Sacramento last May for a comprehensive discussion of the cultural, educational, religious, sociological, and political developments taking place in the Hellenic diaspora in English-speaking countries.

The three-day conference, which was held at the University Union of California State University, Sacramento (CSUS), from May 12-14, 1994, was organized by the Vryonis Center. It was cosponsored by the Hellenic Studies Forum, in Melbourne, Australia, in cooperation with the Hellenic Studies Institute of South Australia in Adelaide, and by the Department of Humanities and Religious Studies at CSUS.

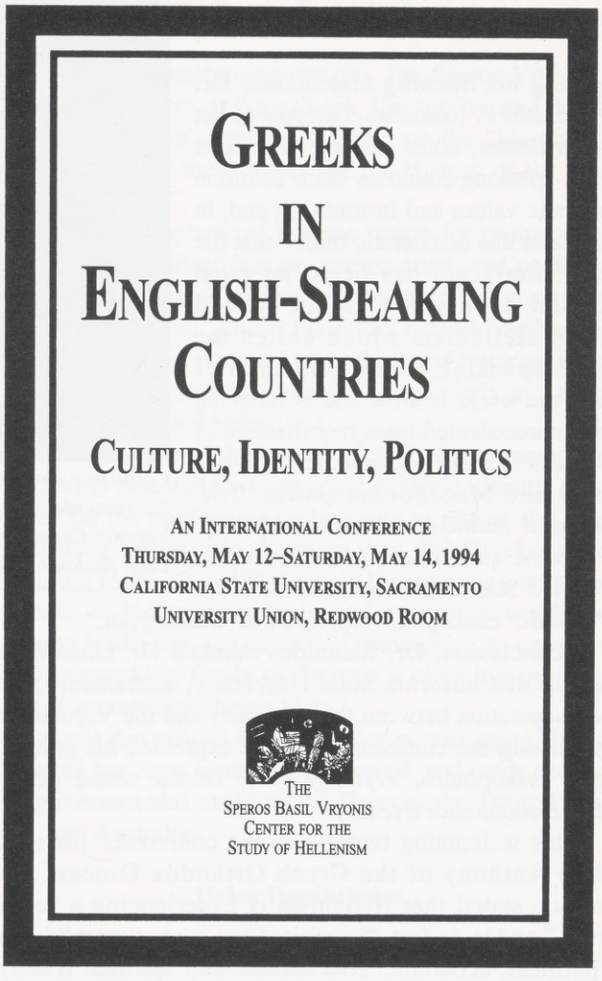
The event, which was open to the public, was the second in a series of biennial symposia on Greeks in English-speaking countries initiated in Melbourne in 1992 by the Hellenic Studies Forum. In March of that year, the Forum organized the three-day inaugural conference of the series which was cosponsored by the Vryonis Center, the government of Greece, the government of the Australian State of Victoria, the Australian Bicentennial Multicultural Foundation, and the Hellenic Canadian Congress. Discussions are currently underway to plan the next conference in the series in Toronto, Canada, in the spring of 1996.

The Sacramento conference brought together academics, government officials, political figures, economists, lawyers, artists, clerics, authors, and journalists from the U.S., Canada, Australia, England, Greece, and Cyprus to examine the challenges faced by Greek communities in Anglophone countries and the strides made by them in a variety of fields.

The conference was opened by Dr. Christos P. Ioannides, Director of the Vryonis Center. Welcoming remarks were made by Bishop Anthony of the Greek Orthodox Diocese of San Francisco; California Governor Pete Wilson; Sacramento Mayor Joe Serna; Dr. Donald Gerth, President of CSUS; Consul General of Greece in San Francisco Elias Clis; the Honorary Consul General of Cyprus in San Francisco, Dr. Anastasios Simonides; George Papadopoulos, President of the Hellenic Studies Forum; and Angelo Tsakopoulos, Vryonis Center Trustee.

The general subjects addressed at the conference were Greek Ethnicity and Culture in English-Speaking Countries; Hellenism and Greek Orthodoxy in the Diaspora: Toward Convergence or Divergence?; Education and Identity; Greek Diaspora Women in the 1990s: Beyond the *Kale Noikokyra* (Good Housewife) Image?; Linkages Between the Diaspora and Greece; The Sense of "Greekness" in Literature and the Arts Among Diaspora Greeks; The Cyprus and Macedonian Issues, and Diaspora Political Activism; and Greeks in Politics in the United States and Australia.

The last session of the conference was a roundtable discussion, "From Melbourne to Sacramento: The Continuing Dialogue Among Greeks in English-Speaking Countries," during which a lively debate took place through extensive audience participation.



Cover of conference program.

The closing event was a reception and dinner in honor of George Stephanopoulos, Senior Adviser to President Bill Clinton.

The Vryonis Center would like to extend its gratitude to Demetra Egan, Secretary of the Hellenic Studies Forum, for her hard work in coordinating the Australian participation in the conference. The Center also wishes to thank Dr. Brad Nystrom, Professor of Humanities and Religious Studies at CSUS, for his valuable assistance in organizing the meeting.

In addition to thanking all of the conference speakers whose presentations made this conference such a success, the Center would like to express its appreciation to the following people for their important contributions to the realization of the conference: George Papadopoulos of the Hellenic Studies Forum; Athan Anagnostou and Dr. Stan Salagaras of the Hellenic Studies Institute of South Australia; Dr. Steven Harris, Chairman of the Department of Humanities and Religious Studies, CSUS; and Prof. Andonia Cakouros, Professor of Theater Arts, CSUS.

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GREEKS IN ENGLISH-SPEAKING COUNTRIES–CULTURE, IDENTITY, POLITICS: AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

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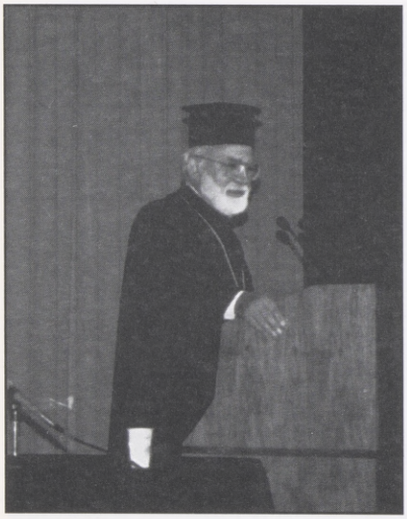
OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE AND WELCOMING REMARKS

During his opening statements, Dr. Christos P. Ioannides, Director of the Vryonis Center, noted that the Greeks in English-speaking countries share common democratic values and institutions, and, in fact, it is in this democratic milieu that the Greek immigrant has been the most successful. He asserted that the cultural bond of Hellenism which unites the English-speaking Greek communities around the world is alive and is reflected in the unprecedented mass mobilization of the Greeks in these communities over the Cyprus and Macedonian issues. The question of multiculturalism and identity has become quite relevant these days in the United States, Dr. Ioannides said, as the "mosaic" concept has replaced the "melting pot."

California Governor Pete Wilson, at podium, addresses the conference. Seated, from left to right, Sacramento Artist Gregory Kondos; Author Yiorgos Chouliaras; Dr. Christos P. Ioannides, Vryonis Center; Dr. Donald Gerth, President, California State University, Sacramento (CSUS); Prof. Andonia Cakouros, CSUS; and Dr. Con Castan, University of Queensland, Australia.

In conclusion, Dr. Ioannides thanked Dr. Donald Gerth, President of California State University, Sacramento, for the close cooperation between the university and the Vryonis Center in organizing the conference, and he expressed his gratitude to Angelo Tsakopoulos, Vryonis Center Trustee whose generosity made the conference a reality.

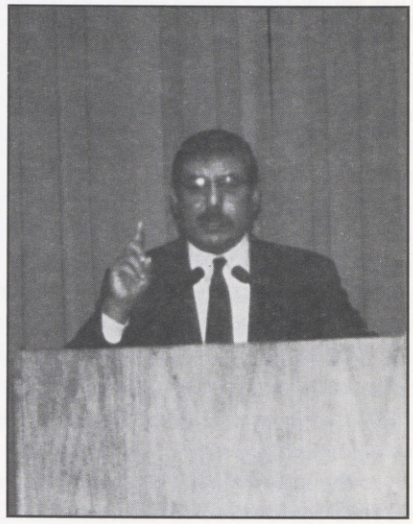
In his welcoming remarks to the conference participants, Bishop Anthony of the Greek Orthodox Diocese of San Francisco stated that Hellenism is experiencing a "crisis of identity," and is, in fact, "in crisis, from every aspect," including the political, economic, educational, and spiritual realms. He called on Hellenes in the diaspora to define the nature of the crisis and "try to respond as vigorously as we can" to find solutions that will "impact not only our own lives, but life in Greece, as well."



Bishop Anthony of the Greek Orthodox Diocese of San Francisco.

Greeting the group, California Governor Pete Wilson said the conference was "of enduring value because it enriches . . . the great mosaic of America, the great rich tradition of this nation." The Hellenic diaspora, he said, transmits to everyone "the enormous cultural advantages that have been spawned by Hellenic culture." Governor Wilson enumerated the contributions made by the ancient Greeks to the development of Western civilization, including oratory, philosophy, poetry, drama, logic, reason, tolerance, equality before the law, and democratic participation.

Sacramento Mayor Joe Serna, who is also Professor of Government at CSUS, extended a warm welcome to the participants in the conference, an event which he said was a contribution to the cultural diversity of Sacramento. Mayor Serna disputed the theory that has been advanced recently which asserts that the focus of each ethnic group on its own identity has a tendency to disunite American society. Mayor Serna emphasized the importance of multiculturalism in the United States, noting that the "mosaic" that has "built this nation" is a "grand experiment" since everyone recognizes one another's culture, while, at the same time, contributing to the functioning of a democratic society.



Sacramento Mayor Joe Serna.

CSUS President Dr. Donald Gerth expressed great satisfaction that such an important conference was taking place at the university and praised the close cooperation that had developed between the

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GREEKS IN ENGLISH-SPEAKING COUNTRIES–CULTURE, IDENTITY, POLITICS: AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

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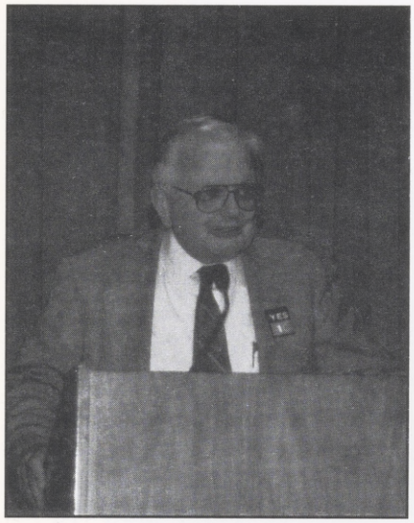


Dr. Donald Gerth, President, California State University, Sacramento.

university and the Vryonis Center. Referring to the issue of multiculturalism, Dr. Gerth said the American people are seeking a society that has "a great deal of heterogeneity in its texture and a homogeneity in its values." He noted that multiculturalism is "far from being a settled issue" in the U.S., and that various concepts of multiculturalism can be explored through conferences such as this one.

Consul General of Greece in San Francisco Elias Clis stated that an awareness of "the other dimension of Hellenism," that of the diaspora, is always alive in the Hellenism of the "metropolis" (motherland), the ancient term which expresses the relationship between Greece and the diaspora. He said that it is "in times of crisis, like the present," that the importance of this other dimension of Hellenism becomes "even more enhanced." The challenge facing Greeks today, he noted, is to "preserve in a changing world this multiple identity of the Hellenic diaspora, especially at a time when traditional structures and values are under pressure, both political and academic."

The Honorary Consul General of Cyprus in San Francisco, Dr. Anastasios Simonides, called on the conference participants to address the Cyprus issue and discuss the fact that Greece has responsibilities toward "its children in the diaspora."

George Papadopoulos, President of the Hellenic Studies Forum, Melbourne, stressed the need for the conferees to define "Hellenism." He suggested that it would be appropriate to examine "Hellenisms" because Greeks in the diaspora "are going through a profound period of change, and multiculturalism, itself, entails the possibility of several types of divergence, particularly on an international scale." He noted that it would be useful to determine where and why the diaspora communities differed and to understand that these differences might be constructive, particularly when viewed within the historical context of the development of Hellenism in 100-200 years.

Finally, the conference participants were welcomed by Vryonis Center Trustee Angelo Tsakopoulos who stressed that, by hosting the conference in Sacramento, the Greek community was able to extend its hospitality to the participants from several continents in the same spirit that the ancient Greeks "opened their doors to strangers and, through them, exchanged ideas and learned about other peoples and cultures."

KEYNOTE ADDRESSES

Dr. Speros Vryonis, Jr.

Following the welcoming remarks, Dr. Speros Vryonis, Jr., Professor of History at New York University and Vryonis Center Trustee, gave a keynote address on the "Identification and Preservation of the Sources for the History of the Greek-American Diaspora."

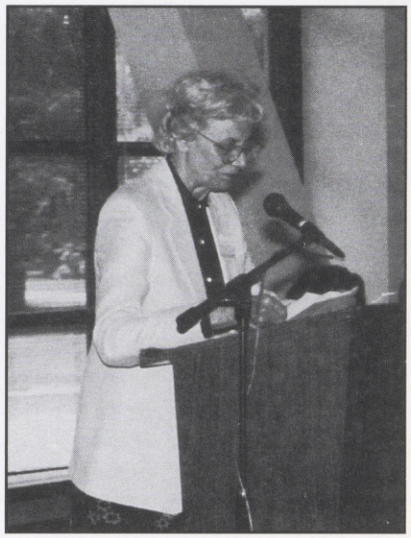
Dr. Vryonis emphasized that the search for primary source materials and their identification, preservation, and codification are essential to the scholarly, systematic examination of diasporic phenomena. These materials include oral records, material objects, and community archives of numerous Greek communities across several continents, particularly in Australia, Canada, and the United States.

The preservation of the history of the Greek communities in the diaspora is essential to maintaining Hellenic identity, he said. He called on the conference participants to pursue the goal of accomplishing this task in the more than 450 Greek-American communities in the United States by: (1) creating a committee of individuals, including an archivist and representatives from the community leadership and academic community, to carry it out, and (2) earmarking funds to finance a planning period and method of approaching the problem.

He noted that official documentation pertaining to Greeks in the diaspora has been identified, preserved, and made accessible in the governmental archives of Greece, the United States, Canada, and Australia.

Helen Papanikolas

At a luncheon for the speakers on the opening day of the conference, Helen Papanikolas, Salt Lake City-based author and historian who is also coordinator of the Greek archives at the University of Utah, delivered a keynote address on "A Sketch of Greek Immigrant Life in the American West."



Author Helen Papanikolas delivers a keynote address at a conference luncheon.

Mrs. Papanikolas said Greeks began coming to the American West in large numbers at the turn of the century. They laid rails, worked in coal and ore mines, and were employed in

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mills and smelters. Greek workers, she said, were at the forefront of the drive toward unionization of the country's coal industry as they labored under dangerous working conditions and lived in miserable shacks.

The Greeks were castigated for sending most of their money back to their Greek villages, she noted. These Greek immigrants expected to return to their homeland after they had saved money, but, after the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913, she said, the men began having brides sent from Greece, and women arrived in increasing numbers. Often, a new bride was the only Greek woman among 2,000 or more Greek men.

During the 1920s, most Greeks became storekeepers and raised sheep. World War II signaled the end of Greek immigrant life in the American West in the mode in which it had been developing, Mrs. Papanikolas said. The post-war period was characterized by unprecedented mobility, increasing intermarriage, and the closure of most Greek parochial schools as the birth of a third generation emerged.

Panel on "Greek Ethnicity and Culture in English-Speaking Countries." Author Helen Papanikolas and Dr. Peter Chimbos, Brescia College, University of Western Ontario, Canada.

CONFERENCE PANELS

PART I: IDENTITY AND CULTURE

Greek Ethnicity and Culture in English-Speaking Countries

Chair: Helen Papanikolas, Author and Historian

Dr. Evan Vlachos, Professor of Sociology and Civil Engineering, Colorado State University, Fort Collins, spoke on "Greek Ethnicity and Culture in Contemporary America: From the 'Melting Pot' to the 'Mosaic' Concept." Dr. Vlachos examined the issue of ethnic consciousness and analyzed the Greek experience in the United States on the basis of information obtained through the 1990 Census. In discussing the Greek presence within the ongoing transformation of American society into a "mosaic" of coexisting cultures, he elaborated on the emergence of the "fourth generation" of Greek Americans, whose ethnic identity has been increasingly fading into a category popularly called "Anglo."

Panel on "Greek Ethnicity and Culture in English-Speaking Countries." From left to right, Dr. Evan Vlachos, Colorado State University, Fort Collins; Dr. Stathis Gauntlett, University of Melbourne; George Papadopoulos, Hellenic Studies Forum, Melbourne.

In his paper "The Next Odyssey: Multiculturalism, Ethnicity, and Hellenism," George Papadopoulos, President of the Hellenic Studies Forum, Melbourne, explored the development of Hellenism within the framework of multiculturalism as it is understood in Australia and placed it within an international Greek framework of a variety of "Hellenisms." The issues he covered included expatriate nationalism and the demography of the Greeks in Australia.

Drawing primarily on Greek-Australian writings as the basis for his paper "Greek-Australian Identity and the British Colonial Heritage," Dr. Stathis Gauntlett, Senior Lecturer in Modern Greek, University of Melbourne, illustrated the manner in which Greek Australians have perceived the relationship between Britain and Australia. He discussed the factors shaping this perception which date back to 1829 when self-professed Greek revolutionaries were transported by the English to New South Wales, Australia, as pirates.

In "Factors Affecting Ethnic Group Cohesion in a Multicultural Society: The Case of the Greek Canadians," Dr. Peter Chimbos, Professor of Sociology, Brescia College, University of Western Ontario, Canada, said ethnic cohesion among Greek Canadians has been adversely affected by upward social mobility, a decrease in immigration from Greece, a de-emphasis on multiculturalism, a decline in overt discrimination, and the globalization of culture.

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GREEKS IN ENGLISH-SPEAKING COUNTRIES–CULTURE, IDENTITY, POLITICS: AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

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Hellenism and Greek Orthodoxy in the Diaspora: Toward Convergence or Divergence?

Chair: Paul Manolis, Director, Patriarch Athenagoras Orthodox Institute, Berkeley

In his paper "The Greek Orthodox Church and Greek Identity in Contemporary America," Dr. Demetrios Constantelos, Townsend Distinguished Professor of History and Religion, Richard Stockton College of New Jersey, asserted that a strong association between religion and ethnicity has characterized the identity of the Greek-American community for more than 75 years. Throughout history, he said, the Greek religious experience has been intimately connected to the Greek people's social, economic, patriotic, and communal life.

Dr. Constantine Hatzidimitriou, Director of Grants Development and Coordinator of Social Studies for the New York City Board of Education, Community School District 30, discussed "Church-Community Relations in the United States." He said church parishes have the largest network of resources devoted to the preservation of Hellenism in the U.S. However, U.S. membership in the Greek Orthodox Church will continue to decline unless new programs are developed to appeal to Greek-American parishioners who have assimilated into American society, or are ethnically mixed, he concluded.

With his topic "Orthodoxy, Hellenism, and the Greeks in England," entrepreneur and community leader in England, Costas Carras, examined the complex interplay between the Hellenic, Romaic, and Orthodox Christian elements that make up the "Greek" identity in the diaspora. He cautioned against the danger that mass culture will threaten historically-based identities to the point that they will possess little substance not only in the diaspora, but in Greece and Cyprus themselves.

Panel on "Hellenism and Greek Orthodoxy in the Diaspora: Toward Convergence or Divergence?" From left to right, Paul Manolis, Patriarch Athenagoras Orthodox Institute, Berkeley; Dr. Demetrios Constantelos, Richard Stockton College, New Jersey; Dr. Constantine Hatzidimitriou, New York City Board of Education; Costas Carras, Entrepreneur and Community Leader, England.

Education and Greek Identity

Chair: Dr. Stathis Gauntlett, Senior Lecturer in Modern Greek, University of Melbourne

The Greek parochial schools in the United States have been successful in transmitting the Hellenic ethnoreligious heritage to the first and second generations of Greek Americans, but have been ineffective in passing this heritage on to the grandchildren of the original Greek immigrants, said Dr. Andrew Kopan, Professor of Education at DePaul University, Chicago, in his paper on "Greek Education in America and the Third Generation of Greek Americans." The paper explained the reasons for this phenomenon in terms of the assimilative forces of U.S. society on third generation Greek Americans.

Presenting the Australian view of Greek education, Dr. Stan Salagaras of the Hellenic Studies Institute of South Australia, Adelaide, spoke on "The Multicultural Educational System of Australia and Greek Education," while Chris Fifis, Senior Lecturer in Modern Greek Studies, LaTrobe University, Melbourne, discussed "The Teaching of Modern Greek in Australia: Expectations, Institutions, and the Politics of Multiculturalism."

Dr. Salagaras outlined the developments in Greek education in Australia within the framework of the policies concerning language and multicultural education at both the national and state levels. He stressed the pivotal role of Greek education in the maintenance and development of Hellenism in the country and noted the supportive role of Greece in this process.

Mr. Fifis traced the development of the teaching of modern Greek in Australia from the beginning of the twentieth century to the current era which is characterized by a vague multiculturalism, rapid demographic changes in the Greek community, and a recession. The 1970s, he said, could be considered a watershed for the recognition of migrant cultures and languages in Australia and for the development of the concept of a multicultural society.

Presenting the Canadian view of Greek education was Dr. Efie Gavaki, a professor in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Concordia University, Montreal. Her paper—"Ethnic Identity, Self-Esteem, and Academic Achievement," coauthored by Dr. Anastasios Stalikas, Professor of Psychology, McGill University, Montreal—argued that strong ethnic identity among children in a multiethnic and multiracial society leads to stronger self-esteem and academic achievement. Children with such an identity will thus be better equipped to integrate successfully into the society at large and advance within it, the paper concluded.

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GREEKS IN ENGLISH-SPEAKING COUNTRIES–CULTURE, IDENTITY, POLITICS: AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

Panel on "Education and Greek Identity." From left to right, Penny Anagnostou, University of South Australia, City Campus; Dr. Efie Gavaki, Concordia University, Montreal; Dr. Andrew Kopan, DePaul University, Chicago; Dr. Stathis Gauntlett, University of Melbourne; Dr. Stan Salagaras; Hellenic Studies Institute of South Australia, Adelaide; Chris Fifis, LaTrobe University, Melbourne.

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The topic of "Welfare Service Development Within the Greek Community in Australia" was discussed by Penny Anagnostou, Senior Lecturer, School of Social Work and Social Policy, University of South Australia, City Campus. The paper she gave was coauthored by her husband Athan Anagnostou, a manager with the South Australian office of the Commonwealth Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs.

Mrs. Anagnostou said that, in the post-war era, many Greek immigrants in Australia have required the help of welfare institutions, and significant numbers of people in the Greek-Australian community still experience financial, medical, and personal hardship. In order to respond to these welfare needs, she advised, Greek Australians must be more involved in the political process with the aim of promoting greater cooperation between the various sectors of the Greek-Australian community.

Greek Diaspora Women in the 1990s: Beyond the *Kale Noikokyra* (Good Housewife) Image?

Chair: Dr. Elizabeth Prodromou, Visiting Scholar, Vryonis Center

In the paper "Beyond Patriarchy: Myth or Reality," Dr. Alice Scourby, a professor in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Long Island University, concluded that there has been a change in gender role expectations for Greek women in the United States, as reflected in their occupational and educational achievements. She said, however, that it is a myth to assume that success in the public sphere translates into egalitarianism in the private sphere.

Vivienne Morris, a journalist with the Greek-Australian newspaper *Neos Kosmos* in Melbourne, presented a profile of the Greek women of Melbourne over the last two decades in her paper "Greek Women in Australia and the Greek Print Media." In addition, she discussed the role of the Greek print media in Australia with respect to the aspirations of Greek-Australian women of the first and second generations.

Further elaborating on the Australian viewpoint was Dr. John Yiannakis, Lecturer in Modern History, Tuart College, Perth, Western Australia, who spoke on "Greek Women in Western Australia." He said that very little has been written about the important contributions made by Greek women to life in Western Australia, while the experiences of men in the region have become folklore. In general, he noted, debates in Australia concerning migration have provided little independent analysis of immigrant women. Dr. Yiannakis said women in Perth from the Greek island of Castellorizo, in particular, are breaking down gender barriers and overcoming past stereotypes.

Dr. Maria Roussou of the Diaspora Center, Cypriot Ministry of Education, spoke about "Gender, Language, and Ethnicity: Greek Women and Greek Identity in the United Kingdom, 1900-1993." Basing her talk on a case study of a group of Greek women in Britain, Dr. Roussou discussed the role played by Greek women in the maintenance of the Greek language and Greek identity among second- and third-generation immigrants in the United Kingdom. She concluded that Greek women still play important roles in their communities in the U.K.

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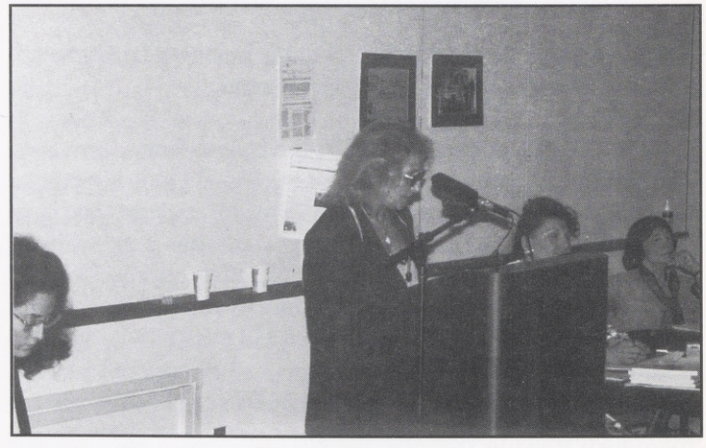

Panel on "Greek Diaspora Women in the 1990s: Beyond the Kale Noikokyra *(Good Housewife) Image? From left to right, Dr. Elizabeth Prodromou, Vryonis Center; Journalist Vivienne Morris,* Neos Kosmos, *Melbourne; Dr. Maria Roussou, Diaspora Center, Cypriot Ministry of Education; Dr. Alice Scourby, Long Island University.*

GREEKS IN ENGLISH-SPEAKING COUNTRIES–CULTURE, IDENTITY, POLITICS: AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

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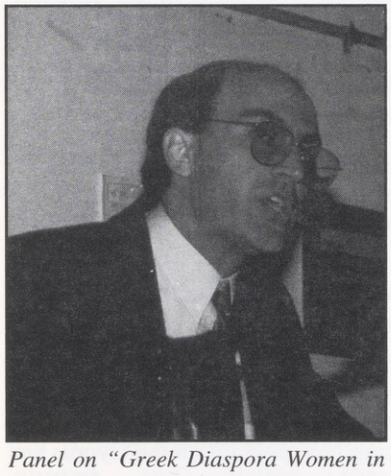
Linkages Between the Diaspora and Greece

Chair: Dr. Nikiforos Diamandouros, Professor and Alternate Chair of Political Science, University of Athens

"The Idea of the Greek Nation and the Diaspora," a paper examining the phenomenon which allows the Greek state to consider Greek immigrants abroad as part of a trans-territorial entity described as "Hellenism," was presented by Dr. Alexander Kitroeff, Vryonis Center Visiting Scholar, and Assistant Professor, Department of History of New York University and the Alexander S. Onassis Center for Hellenic Studies. Dr. Kitroeff traced the historical roots of the concept of a cultural sense of Greek nationhood. This concept led to the pursuit of irredentism known as the *Megale Idea* (Great Idea) in 1844, an aspiration which came to a conclusion with the end of the so-called Greek-Turkish War in 1922. (See the interview with Dr. Kitroeff on pages 38-41 for more information on this topic.)

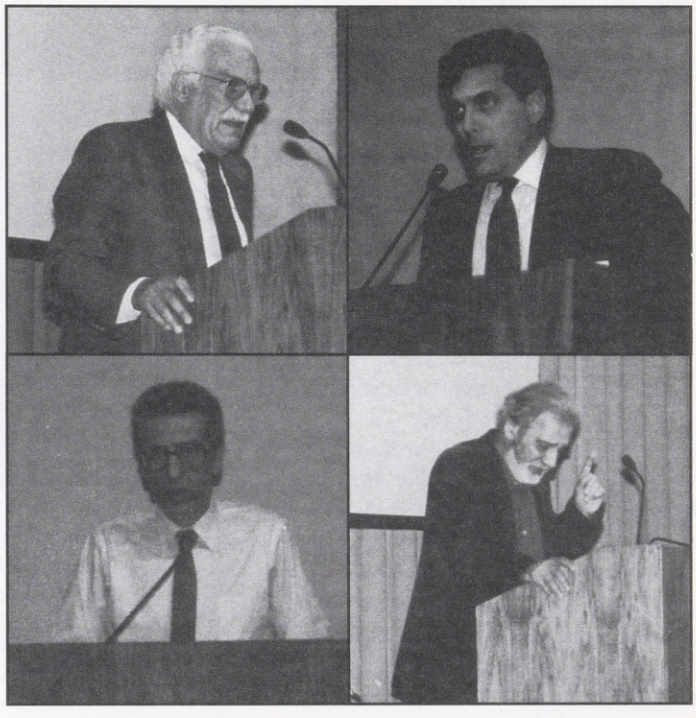
In his paper "The Greek State, the Bureaucracy, and the Diaspora," Dr. Constantine Tsoukalas, Professor of Sociology, University of Athens, argued that the historical conditions underlying the emergence of the modern Greek nation are responsible for interesting particularities in the conceptualization of the notion of Greek nationhood. In addition, he argued, the highly original territorial and symbolic components of this representation of identity can be correlated with atypical behavior patterns among Greeks with respect to factors such as public authority and cultural loyalties, some of which still survive.

Dr. Adamantios Pepelasis, Director of the Lambrakis Research Foundation, Athens, spoke on "Greek Education and Culture, and the Diffusion of Modern Technology." Dr. Pepelasis said Greece is entering the so-called post-industrial age and its schools must provide a learning environment that is compatible with the rapid changes in the country's socioeconomic system. The educational system in Greece, he said, is, in principle, a very conservative environment, thus the challenge will be to teach children how to make the best use of widespread information provided by new technologies and to upgrade the cultural level of young people.



Panel on "Greek Diaspora Women in the 1990s: Beyond the Kale Noikokyra *(Good Housewife) Image?" Dr. John Yiannakis, Tuart College, Perth, Western Australia.*

John Farmakidis, Senior Vice President, Banque Nationale de Paris, Canada, in Toronto, covered the topic of "Economic Linkages Between the Diaspora and Greece." Mr. Farmakidis discussed the importance of the transfer of skills from abroad, invisible remittances from Greeks working in the diaspora, and remittances from shipping and tourism to the growth of the Greek economy since World War II. In addition, he said, following the war, Greeks overseas began to be net lenders to the Greek banking system. He noted that investment support from diaspora Greeks has recently become a positive factor in the development of the stock exchange activity in Athens.



Panel on "Linkages Between the Diaspora and Greece." Top, left, Dr. Adamantios Pepelasis, Lambrakis Research Foundation, Athens; right, John Farmakidis, Banque Nationale de Paris, Canada, in Toronto. Bottom, left, Dr. Nikiforos Diamandouros, University of Athens; right, Dr. Constantine Tsoukalas, University of Athens.

The Sense of "Greekness" in Literature and the Arts Among Diaspora Greeks

Chair: Author Yiorgos Chouliaras

Sacramento artist Gregory Kondos, a former art professor at Sacramento City College, showed slides of his work which included Greek subjects, views of southern France, and scenes of California, such as the Sacramento-San Joaquin River Delta, Yosemite, and Napa Valley. He said that his art was a way of presenting the order he looks for and finds in the world around him. The "simplicity, order, and freedom" in his paintings are reflections of the influence of his Greek heritage on his art, Mr. Kondos said.

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GREEKS IN ENGLISH-SPEAKING COUNTRIES–CULTURE, IDENTITY, POLITICS: AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

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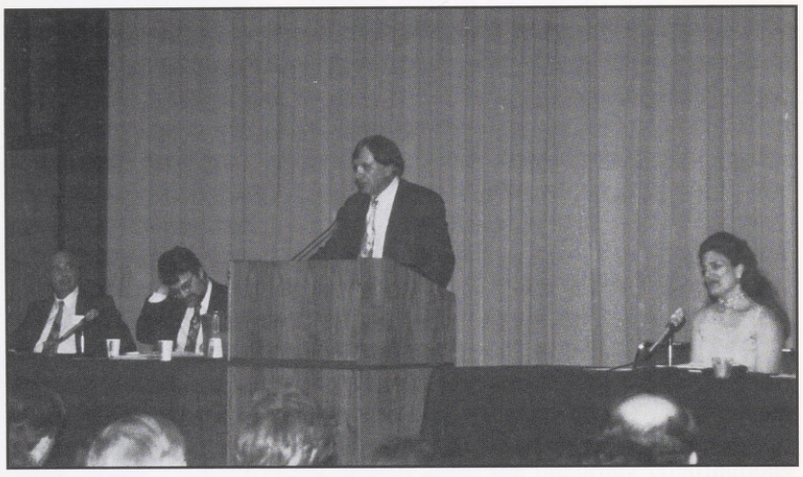
In "Writing in the Diaspora and the Diaspora of Writing," New York-based author Yiorgos Chouliaras said national background is particularly significant for writers, in comparison to other types of artists, because the language they use is associated with a national community. However, because writing is an individual act, writers are also members of a trans-national diaspora of writing, he said. He noted that these distinctions are relevant when questions arise about the definition of "Greek authors" in the diaspora.

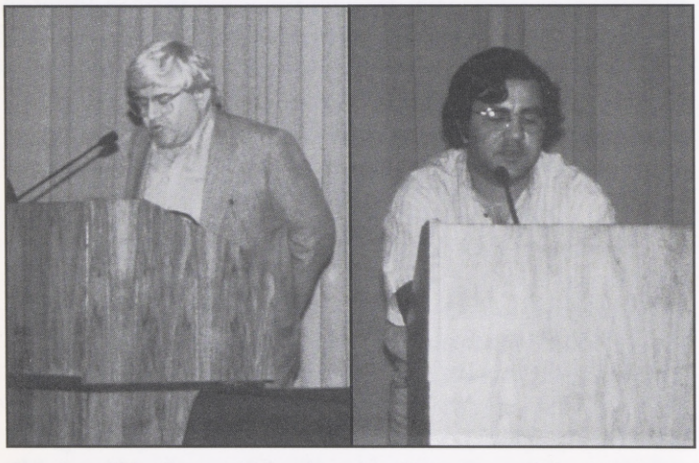
Prof. Andonia Cakouros, Professor of Theater Arts, California State University, Sacramento, explored "The Greek Spirit and Its Journey with Drama and Dance into the Diaspora." Prof. Cakouros defined drama and dance according to their ancient roots and their importance within Greek society, and commented on their relevance to the journey of the Greek spirit. She focused on the life of Greek actress and politician Melina Mercouri as a metaphor for this journey since Ms. Mercouri's work has affected diaspora Greeks in powerful and positive ways. (See the Art and Culture section, pages 47-49, for further details on Prof. Cakouros's paper.)



Panel on "The Sense of 'Greekness' in Literature and the Arts Among Diaspora Greeks." From left to right, Dr. George Kanarakis, Charles Sturt University, Australia; Author Yiorgos Chouliaras; Artist Gregory Kondos; Prof. Andonia Cakouros, California State University, Sacramento.

Dr. Con Castan of the English Department, University of Queensland, Australia, argued that ethnic identity stems from an intersubjective community claim and has reality only as a set of social constructions relating to one another in a specific social matrix. In his paper "Greeks and 'Barbarians' in Australia," he said the process of the formation of ethnic identity involves perceptions of "Self" on the part of an ethnic group and the existence of another group that sees itself as, and is seen as, the "Other."

The various degrees of "Greekness" in the writings of people of Greek descent in Australia were examined by Dr. George Kanarakis, Senior Lecturer and Coordinator of Greek Studies, Charles Sturt University, Bathurst, New South Wales, Australia, in his paper on "Patterns of 'Greekness' in Diaspora Literature: The Australian Experience." Among the factors Dr. Kanarakis explored in comparing the works of the various generations of Greek-Australian writers was the sociocultural influences shaping their work. He placed each writer on a continuum ranging from monoculturalism to biculturalism. (See the Art and Culture section, pages 49-51, for further details on Dr. Kanarakis's paper.)



Panel on "The Sense of 'Greekness' in Literature and the Arts Among Diaspora Greeks." Dr. Con Castan, University of Queensland, Australia (left), and Pavlos Andronikos, Monash University, Melbourne.

Pavlos Andronikos, Head of the Modern Greek Studies Section, Monash University, Melbourne, spoke on "Greek-Australian Music: A Survey," placing special emphasis on the songwriters, lyricists, and performers in the milieu of Greek music in Melbourne. His paper was an attempt to collect historical information about the work of this group of musicians. Their relationship with the world of mainstream music in Australia and Greece was also analyzed.

PART II: POLITICS AND THE DIASPORA

The Cyprus and Macedonian Issues, and Diaspora Political Activism

Chair: Dr. Van Coufoudakis, Associate Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, Indiana University-Purdue University, Fort Wayne

In his paper "The Political Mobilization of Greek Americans: Achievements, Problems, Prospects," George Savidis, Director of Public Affairs for AHEPA (American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association), traced the history of the grassroots mobilization of the Greek-American community aimed at influencing U.S. policies on the Cyprus and Macedonian issues. He explained how the successes and failures of the "Greek lobby" in the United States with regard to these issues has been affected by the interplay among various

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GREEKS IN ENGLISH-SPEAKING COUNTRIES–CULTURE, IDENTITY, POLITICS: AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

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organizations in the Greek-American community. In addition, he raised concerns about the need to distinguish between "jargon that patronized" on the part of the "Greek lobby" and responses that represented concrete action.

In the paper "The 'Greek Lobby' in Canada," the role of Greek Canadians in influencing the formulation of Canadian foreign policy was dealt with by Dr. Stephanos Constantinides, who teaches political science at the University of Quebec in Montreal and is the director of the Center for Hellenic Studies and Research, also in Montreal. Dr. Constantinides analyzed the impact Greek Canadians have on the decision-making process concerning Canada's policies on the Cyprus problem and the Macedonian question. He said the Greek-Canadian "lobby" is not as effective as it could be because of poor organization and a lack of coordination, clear objectives, and leadership.

George Karaisaridis, who is completing a Master of Arts degree at Victoria University of Technology in Australia, provided an overview of the issues that shape the "Greek lobby" in Australia in his paper "The 'Greek Lobby' in Australia: Rethinking the Fundamentals." Mr. Karaisaridis discussed the achievements and problems of the "Greek lobby" regarding welfare, politics, and the formulation of foreign policy, with particular reference to the Cyprus and Macedonian issues. He concluded that the Greek community in Australia has failed to produce a powerful lobby that can effectively protect and promote its interests.

In his paper "Mobilizing the Greek Diaspora: The Role of Athens and Nicosia," Dr. Marios Evriviades, Assistant Professor of International Relations, Athens University of Economics and Business, cautioned that Athens and Nicosia, in their attempts to mobilize the Hellenic diaspora in support of Greek "national" issues, should re-examine their traditional approaches toward diaspora communities. These approaches tend to be paternalistic and dominating, he said, and, instead, should be complementary, especially with regard to communities in English-speaking pluralist societies where the environment is friendlier politically. Athens and Nicosia should establish endowed chairs for Hellenic studies programs abroad and utilize the communications revolution to stay in contact with diaspora communities, he argued.

Nikos Koutsou, President of the Cyprus Research Center (KYKEM) in Nicosia, commented on "Greek Lobbies: A View from Cyprus." Mr. Koutsou argued that the intercommunal talks, aimed at achieving a settlement in Cyprus, have failed. He said that the government of Cyprus should disengage itself from the intercommunal talks which are perpetuating the status quo, and it should make new proposals based on the "zero option." Any further dialogue, he concluded, should be based on the universal principles of human rights and on international law.

Greeks in Politics in the United States and Australia

Chair: Dr. Christos P. Ioannides, Director, Vryonis Center

During this session, U.S. Senator Paul Sarbanes of Maryland outlined the foreign policy issues of major importance to the people of Greece and to Greeks around the world, and fielded questions from the audience on various aspects of these issues.

Senator Sarbanes said that these foreign policy issues, which the Greek press refers to as "national issues," are Cyprus, the Macedonian question, Greek-Turkish relations, and the Albanian government's treatment of the Greek minority in Albania. He noted that the recent meeting between President Bill Clinton and the leadership of the Greek-American community

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Panel on "The Cyprus and Macedonian Issues, and Diaspora Political Activism." Top, left to right, Dr. Van Coufoudakis, Indiana University-Purdue University, Fort Wayne; George Savidis, AHEPA; Dr. Stephanos Constantinides, University of Quebec, Montreal. Bottom, left to right, George Karaisaridis, Victoria University of Technology, Australia; Dr. Marios Evriviades, Athens University of Economics and Business; Nikos Koutsou, Cyprus Research Center (KYKEM), Nicosia.

GREEKS IN ENGLISH-SPEAKING COUNTRIES–CULTURE, IDENTITY, POLITICS: AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

Panel on "Greeks in Politics in the United States and Australia." U.S. Senator Paul Sarbanes of Maryland, right, and Dr. Christos P. Ioannides, Vryonis Center.

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has made the president aware of the "depth of feeling" in the Greek-American community on these issues.

Also speaking during this session were California State Senator Nicholas Petris; Representative of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development for the Pacific/Hawaii Area and former Mayor of San Francisco Art Agnos; and candidate for California State Treasurer Phil Angelides who all emphasized that there is a solid network of support among Americans of Greek descent for members of the diaspora community who run for political office in the United States.

Senator Petris and Mr. Agnos noted that Greeks in the U.S. have a strong sense of cultural identity and pride.

"We know who we are, where we came from, and what we stand for," Senator Petris said, adding that Greek Americans also have a "positivism and self-confidence." Quoting an unidentified poet, in order to illustrate the close bond among Greeks in the diaspora throughout the world and across the ages, Senator Petris said, "Come join the circle of Greeks dancing and hold the hands that held the hand of Homer."

Senator Petris said the Greek-American community should encourage its young people to seek education and scholarship, as well as devote themselves to public duty "in order to pay back some of the many things that we have been fortunate to receive."

Mr. Agnos said the pride Greek Americans have in their culture, stemming from "what we believe to be our place in the civilized world and its history," is reflected in the support given to Greek-American candidates in one region by Greek communities in other areas of the country. This factor, he said, is indicative of the shared pride that members of the Greek-American community take in the achievements of others from their community.

His own Greek heritage and culture, Mr. Agnos said, had enabled him to relate politically to a diverse range of ethnic groups in San Francisco as mayor. Making certain that the cultures of other people were given recognition, as they struggled for fairness and equality, became a high priority for him, he noted.

In his presentation, Phil Angelides said Greek Americans have a strong belief in the value of their culture and should, therefore, desire, through involvement in politics, to impart this culture to the rest of American society, "a society that struggles very much with the very basis of our culture—hard work, discipline, and love of family."

Mr. Angelides said the Greek people, coming from the home of democracy, believe in politics. Because the Greek-American community is not economically or educationally disadvantaged, he said, it is "perfectly positioned" to enter the American political process "not wanting for ourselves." This community can thus fight for the basic ideals of democracy and freedom that are the genesis of American society, Mr. Angelides said.

Eugene Rossides, Chairman of the Washington-based American Hellenic Institute, discussed the topic of U.S. relations with Greece, Cyprus, and Turkey in his paper "The Political Challenges Confronting Greek Americans: Lessons from the Past, An Agenda for the Future." Mr. Rossides examined the processes and dynamics of the political mobilization of the Greek-American community and discussed the effect of this mobilization on U.S. policy toward Greece, Cyprus, and Turkey. The foremost challenge for Greek Americans, he said, is to become an integral part of the foreign policy process.

George Papadopoulos, President of the Hellenic Studies Forum, Melbourne, spoke on "Greeks and Politics in Australia." He gave a short history and analysis of the involvement of Greeks living in Australia—those born in Greece, Cyprus, and

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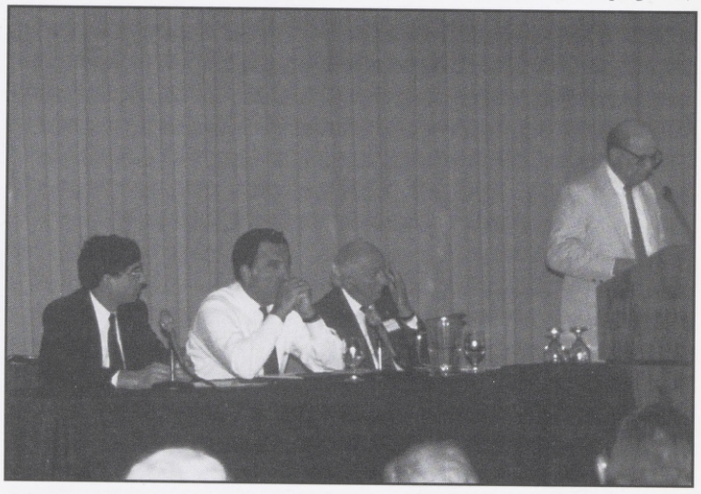

Panel on "Greeks in Politics in the United States and Australia." From left to right, Phil Angelides, Candidate for California State Treasurer; Art Agnos, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Pacific/Hawaii Area, and former Mayor of San Francisco; California State Senator Nicholas Petris; Eugene Rossides, American Hellenic Institute, Washington, D.C.

GREEKS IN ENGLISH-SPEAKING COUNTRIES–CULTURE, IDENTITY, POLITICS: AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

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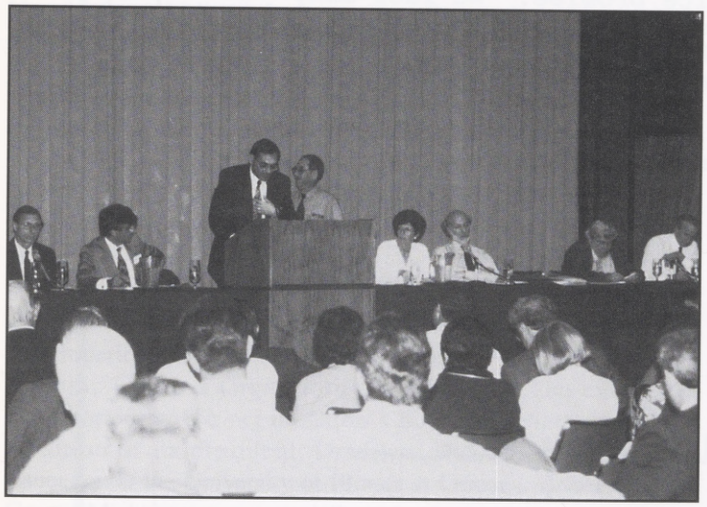
Australia—in Australian political parties since World War II, including the period of mass migration from the 1950s to 1970s. He noted that the support of the Greeks in Australia for the activities of the political parties in Greece and Cyprus has led to the formation of branches of these parties in Australia.

Roundtable Discussion

During the final session of the conference, the speakers and the audience evaluated the effectiveness of a meeting such as this one in accomplishing its goals, suggested follow-up strategies for planning the next conference of the series in 1996 in Toronto, and presented their viewpoints on a range of issues raised during the event.

All the participants emphasized the need for institutionalizing the dialogue among Greeks in English-speaking countries. There were also suggestions that this dialogue should be broadened to include the Greek diaspora worldwide. The view prevailed, however, that the conference series on Greeks in English-speaking countries can stand on its own, while an effort should be made to organize a separate series of conferences on the global diaspora.

In addition, the speakers discussed the format of the conference. Some suggested that fewer panelists would allow more time to be dedicated to the presentation of papers. Others suggested that a larger number of panelists would make it possible to present a wider spectrum of views and broaden the dialogue among the Greeks in English-speaking countries.



Roundtable Discussion. From left to right, Dr. Van Coufoudakis, Indiana University-Purdue University, Fort Wayne; Dr. Christos P. Ioannides, Vryonis Center; Dr. Stan Salagaras, Hellenic Studies Institute of South Australia, Adelaide; George Papadopoulos, Hellenic Studies Forum, Melbourne; Demetra Egan, Hellenic Studies Forum, Melbourne; Costas Carras, Entrepreneur and Community Leader, England; Dr. Con Castan, University of Queensland, Australia; Dr. Speros Vryonis, Jr., New York University.

George Stephanopoulos, Senior Advisor to President Bill Clinton, shakes hands with Mary Alifrangis of Sacramento at a reception in his honor which closed the conference. To the left of Mr. Stephanopoulos is John K. Tsakopoulos.

RECEPTION HONORING GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS CLOSES CONFERENCE

The closing event of the conference was a reception and dinner for 400 people in honor of George Stephanopoulos, Senior Advisor to President Bill Clinton, at the home of Vryonis Center Trustee Angelo Tsakopoulos and his wife Sophia in Sacramento. U.S. Senator Paul Sarbanes of Maryland, who had spoken at the conference earlier in the day on the panel "Greeks in Politics in the U.S. and Australia," was also a guest of honor at the reception.

The master of ceremonies was Eleni K. Tsakopoulos who welcomed the guests, outlined the accomplishments of the Vryonis Center, and stressed the significance of the conference in the promotion of the dialogue among Greeks in the diaspora.

Senator Sarbanes and Dr. Speros Vryonis, Jr., Professor of History at New York University and Vryonis Center Trustee, made additional remarks about the importance of the conference. Phil Angelides, who had also been part of the panel on "Greeks in Politics in the U.S. and Australia" earlier in the day, introduced the keynote speaker, George Stephanopoulos.

Before delivering a speech to the dinner guests, Mr. Stephanopoulos read a message from President Clinton to the conference participants (see page 16).

In his own speech, Mr. Stephanopoulos emphasized the importance of education and a strong family structure with respect to the process of building a better America. He spoke about the ways in which his own education and his experiences growing up in a Greek-American family had influenced his life and career.

Mr. Stephanopoulos urged the younger generation to reject cynicism and look forward to a bright future for America. The best way to secure this future is to get involved in public service, he concluded.

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MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 11, 1994

Greetings to everyone gathered in Sacramento for the Second International Conference on Greeks in English-Speaking Countries. I'm delighted to know that George is able to join you for this exciting forum.

Greek Americans have made significant contributions to the United States, strengthening our towns and cities and enriching our national life. In virtually every field and occupation, Greek Americans have broadened our cultural and political understanding and have helped to make our country one of great diversity and infinite promise. We face many challenges as a nation, but our shared belief in the importance of community will provide us with the energy and hope to build a more peaceful, prosperous world. I welcome your participation in this bold endeavor.

Best wishes to all for a wonderful meeting.

Bill Clinton

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GREEKS IN ENGLISH-SPEAKING COUNTRIES–CULTURE, IDENTITY, POLITICS: AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

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CONFERENCE SPEAKERS VISIT ORTHODOX INSTITUTE IN BERKELEY

Following the conference, the speakers spent a day visiting the Patriarch Athenagoras Orthodox Institute, an inter-Orthodox institution, which is adjacent to the campus of the University of California, Berkeley.

The visit was hosted by the Institute's director, Paul Manolis, who gave the group a tour of its facilities, including the 5,000-volume library and the Chapel of Saint Demetrios. The tour was followed by a luncheon at the Institute.

Offering scholarships, lectures, a campus ministry, and a periodical entitled *Orthodoxia*, the Orthodox Institute is the only place in the United States where Orthodoxy has a physical presence in conjunction with a university campus. The Institute is part of the Graduate Theological Union, a center for graduate programs of 17 religious denominations in Berkeley, which has a special relationship with U.C. Berkeley.

Mr. Manolis also took the conference speakers on a walking tour of the U.C. Berkeley campus, pointing out features of historical interest.

The Vryonis Center wishes to thank Mr. Manolis for his hospitality and generosity in making the day a very special one for the visitors.

In addition, the Vryonis Center took the speakers on tours of San Francisco and the Napa Valley wine country.

Paul Manolis, Director of the Patriarch Athenagoras Orthodox Institute in Berkeley, center, gives the conference speakers a tour of the University of California, Berkeley, campus.

AUSTRALIAN SPEAKERS PARTICIPATE IN THREE REGIONAL SEMINARS

Following the conference on "Greeks in English-Speaking Countries—Culture, Identity, Politics" in Sacramento, the Australian participants split into three groups and flew to Chicago, New York, and Miami. In these cities, they took part in seminars which were cosponsored by the Vryonis Center, within the framework of its cultural outreach program, and by other academic centers and Hellenic organizations in each region. In this way, the Australians were given the opportunity to visit other regions of the United States and meet members of the Greek-American community in three major centers of Hellenism in the United States.

Chicago

The local sponsor of the Chicago seminar, which was held over a period of three evenings from May 17-19, 1994, was the Hellenic Cultural Organization of Chicago. The event was coordinated by the organization's board members, under the direction of its president, Dr. Eleni Katsarou, Professor of Education at the University of Illinois at Chicago. Board Member George Michalatos was especially active in the preparations for the seminar and also attended the three-day conference on Greeks in English-speaking countries in Sacramento the previous week.

Four Australians joined scholars, educators, specialists in social welfare, and other figures from the Hellenic community in Chicago in focusing on four topics: Greek Music in Australia and the U.S.; Greek Identity in Anglophone Countries; Social Services for Greeks in Anglophone Countries; and the "Greek Lobby:" Achievements, Problems, and Prospects.

The Australian speakers and their topics were Pavlos Andronikos, Head, Modern Greek Section, Monash University, Melbourne, "Greek-Australian Music: A Survey;" Dr. Stathis Gauntlett, Senior Lecturer, Modern Greek, University of Melbourne, "Greek-Australian Identity and the British Colonial Heritage;" Athan Anagnostou, a manager with the South Australian office of the Commonwealth Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, "Welfare Service Development Within the Greek Community in Australia;" and George Karaisaridis, Master's Candidate, Victoria University of Technology, "The 'Greek Lobby' in Australia: Rethinking the Fundamentals."

Among the speakers from the Chicago community were James Stoyanoff, Musicologist, "*Dimotike Mousike* (Demotic Music) in America: Survival and Preservation;" Dr. Alexander Karanikas, Professor of American Literature, University of Illinois, "The Greek Identity in American Literature;" Cynthia Yannias, Executive Director, Hellenic Foundation, Chicago, "Social Services in the Greek-American Community;" and Dr. Michael Bakalis, Educator, "Greek Lobbying Efforts in the U. S." Remarks were made by Dr. Eleni Katsarou, President, Hellenic Cultural Organization; Dr. Stavros Basseas, Scientist; Dr. Theodosis Kioutas, President, Greek Nursing Home Committee; Ted Spyropoulos, President, ENOSIS and the Hellenic-American

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AUSTRALIAN SPEAKERS PARTICIPATE IN THREE REGIONAL SEMINARS

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National Council, Chicago; and James Chackulas, Chairman, Justice for Cyprus Committee.

In addition to meeting members of the Greek community of Chicago at the closing reception of the conference, the Australians visited the city's Hellenic Foundation, specializing in social work within the Greek community, and were given a tour of the Hellenic Museum in downtown Chicago. Several of them also attended a concert by Greek composer Mikis Theodorakis, which was cosponsored by the Hellenic Cultural Organization of Chicago, and took part in a reception following the concert, attended by the Consul General of Greece in Chicago, John-Alexis Zepos.

New York

The New York seminar, "The Greeks in Australia," was sponsored locally by the Alexander S. Onassis Center for Hellenic Studies, New York University. It was coordinated by the director of the Onassis Center's Outreach Program, Dr. Athena Coronis, under the direction of the Center's director, Dr. Gregory Sifakis.

The event, which was held on the evening of May 20, 1994, took place on the campus of the university and featured three Australian speakers. The speakers were Demetra Egan, Secretary, Hellenic Studies Forum, Melbourne, who spoke on "Translating Greek-Australian Literature;" Dr. George Kanarakis, Senior Lecturer and Coordinator of Greek Studies, Charles Sturt University, Bathurst, New South Wales, who presented an overview of Greek-Australian literature in "Patterns of 'Greekness' in Diaspora Literature: The Australian Experience;" and Vivienne Morris, a journalist with *Neos Kosmos*, a Greek-Australian newspaper in Melbourne, who covered the topic "Greek Women in Australia and the Greek Print Media."

By way of comparison, Dr. Peter Chimbos, Professor of Sociology, Brescia College, University of Western Ontario, Canada, presented a paper dealing with the diaspora in Canada. His topic was "Assessing Multiculturalism in Canada with Special Reference to Educational Policies and Programs."

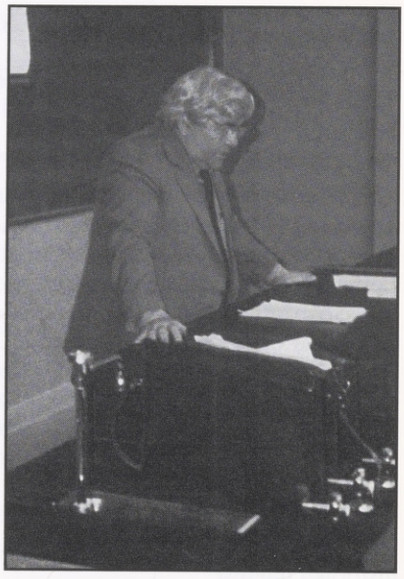
Demetra Egan, Secretary, Hellenic Studies Forum, Melbourne, speaks at New York University.

The night before the seminar, Mrs. Egan and Dr. Kanarakis also spoke at the Cultural Center of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America which is headquartered in Manhattan.

On both evenings, dinners were held in honor of the speakers, with the Onassis Center staff and invited guests in attendance.

Miami

The Miami seminar, "An International Conference on Greeks in English-Speaking Countries: An Exchange of Perspectives Between Greek Australians and Greek Americans," was held on the evening of May 19, 1994, at the University of Miami. It was sponsored locally by the Hellenic Cultural and Educational Foundation, a philanthropic organization in Miami, and by "Socrates," a Greek school which is a branch of the Foundation.



Dr. Con Castan, University of Queensland, Australia, speaks in Miami.

The event was coordinated by Basil Yanakakis, an attorney and former law professor at Suffolk University in Boston and at Harvard, and by Dr. George Alexandrakis, Chairman of the Department of Physics, University of Miami, and his wife, Dr. Aphrodite Alexandrakis, Educational Adviser to the Foundation.

The Australian speakers and their topics were Dr. Stan Salagaras, Hellenic Studies Institute of South Australia, Adelaide, "Greek Education in Australia;" Dr. Con Castan, a professor in the English department, University of Queensland, "Greek-Australian Literature;" Chris Fifis, Senior Lecturer, Modern Greek Studies, LaTrobe University, Melbourne, "Teaching Modern Greek in Australia;" and Penny Anagnostou, Senior Lecturer, School of Social Work and Social Policy, University of South Australia, City Campus, "The Politics of Welfare Service Development Within the Greek Community in Australia;" and Dr. John Yiannakis, Lecturer, Modern History, Tuart College, Western Australia, "Greek-Australian Women."

The conference was opened with greetings by the Consul General of Greece in Atlanta, Dionyssios Sourvanos, whose jurisdiction includes Miami.

On May 20, a banquet was held in honor of the Australian speakers for 500 prominent figures of the Hellenic communities of Miami and other regions of North America. The guests included community and church leaders, educators, and entrepreneurs. Among the speakers at the banquet were Andrew Athens, National Chairman of the United Hellenic American Congress, Chicago, and the President of the Parish Council of Saint Sophia, the Greek Orthodox Cathedral in Miami, John Prokos.

The speakers were given a tour of the school "Socrates," where modern Greek is taught and Hellenic cultural activities are held. In addition, they visited Saint Sophia, the Greek Orthodox Cathedral in Miami.

THE VRYONIS CENTER LIBRARY

by Janet Coles, Vryonis Center Librarian

The Vryonis Center Library is growing rapidly. Through gifts and purchases, over 2,500 books, periodicals, and other materials have been acquired in the past several months.

Significant strides have been made in computerizing the library. A public access online catalogue and card catalogue containing records for about one-fifth of the library collection are now available. Plans are being laid for mounting an in-house electronic network which will include the library's online catalogue and several indexes on CD-ROM, such as the MLA (Modern Language Association) Bibliography and the index to the various regional editions of the *FBIS Daily Report* of the Foreign Broadcast Information Service, a U.S. government publication.

LIBRARY SERVICES

Academic

To support scholarship at the Vryonis Center, the library has established a number of traditional academic library services. These include an interlibrary loan program and an online research service program. The library now has online access to over 1,000 data bases and can provide resident and visiting scholars with comprehensive literature searches. It can also borrow materials on interlibrary loan from most universities in the United States.

The library has developed a recent acquisitions list for distribution to scholars and other interested individuals, as well as libraries. This list will be published twice a year and is presently available at no charge. Copying and mailing costs may require that nominal yearly subscription fees be charged in the future. Those who wish to receive the list should send a letter to the attention of Janet Coles at the Vryonis Center Library.

The staff of the Vryonis Center Library during a meeting. From left to right, Janet Coles, Librarian; John Miller, former Library Assistant; and David Lindstrom, Assistant Librarian.

Community

The Vryonis Center Library aspires to serving the community in addition to scholars and researchers. To this end, the library sponsored an exhibit at an eight-hour Multicultural Festival at Thomas Edison Elementary School in Sacramento on April 29, 1994. Books, posters, prints, photographs, and other items on ancient and modern Greek culture were displayed, along with captions explaining the significance of each piece. Recorded Greek folk music was played and the booth was crowded throughout most of the day.

Possibly the most intriguing part of the exhibit for the children was a bowl of red-dyed Easter eggs, on display to commemorate Orthodox Good Friday, which occurred the same day. This part of the display helped to demonstrate some aspects of modern Greek culture in a tangible way. About 600 people from the community attended the festival, including parents and students.

LIBRARY ACTIVITIES

The Vryonis Center Librarian, Janet Coles, attended the American Library Association conference in Miami, Florida, in June, 1994. This is the major annual conference for library and information professionals in the United States. More than 10,000 librarians, library paraprofessionals, and other information managers and providers were in attendance. Highlights from the five-day conference included sessions on obtaining government information through the Internet; using print and online sources for information on Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union; developing and providing intellectual access to digitized image data bases; and establishing international library networks.

RARE BOOK COLLECTION

The Greek Revolution of 1821

The library has a strong collection of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century material on the Greek Revolution and the birth of the modern Greek state. Part of this collection is a very rare copy of *Compendio della storia del risorgimento della Grecia al 1740 al 1824* (Collection of Stories from 1740 to 1824 on the Greek Revolution) dated 1825. This book was originally published in two volumes. The library has volume 1 which traces the events leading up to the Greek Revolution and the first few years of war.

The *Compendio* addresses such issues as the breakdown of the Ottoman Empire and the inception of unrest and revolt among the Greek peasantry in the late 1700s and early 1800s; the philosophical origins of the concept of nationalism in Europe in the eighteenth century and its manifestation in Greece; the emergence of the leaders of the Revolution; and the coming of

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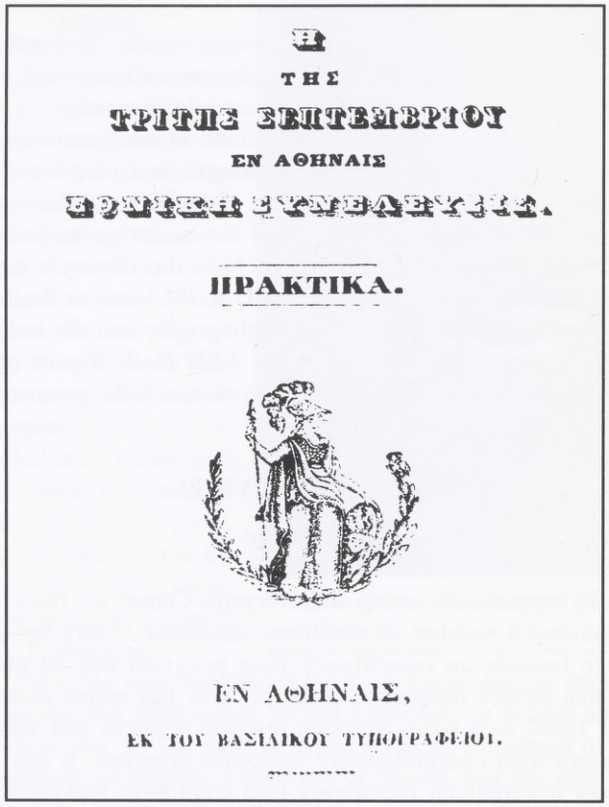
the Philhellenes to Greece and the birth of the *Philike Hetaireia* (Society of Friends), the secret revolutionary society which laid the foundation for the Greek Revolution.

The *Philike Hetaireia* is discussed in depth in one of the library's recent acquisitions, *He Philike Hetaireia kai to patriotikon drama: martyres kai ekdiketai* (The *Philike Hetaireia* and the Patriotic Drama: Martyrs and Avengers) by Elias Tzanetes. The book exhaustively documents the formation of the *Hetaireia* in 1814 by Nicholas Skouphas, Athanasios Tsakalof, and Emmanuel Xanthos. The development of the society is traced from a precarious organization founded by two unknown merchants and a young student to a movement which, by the outbreak of the Revolution, had thousands of fervent members of all classes and backgrounds. The book is well illustrated, with facsimiles of documents, secret code sheets, maps, and portraits, some of which appear to be derived from political literature of the time.

Also in the library's collection is the 1844 edition of *He tes trites Septembriou en Athenais Ethnike Syneleusis. Praktika* (The Minutes of the National Assembly of the Third of September in Athens). This volume contains the proceedings of the constitutional congress of 1843-1844 in Greece, which produced the *Syntagma* (Constitution) of 1844. The volume was reprinted in 1993 by the publishing house "Pontiki" in Athens. For further study of the 1843-1844 congress, one might turn to the recent book by Giorgos O. Anastasiades, *"He tes trites Septembriou en Athenais" Ethnike Syneleuse, 1843-1844: he historike physiognomia tes kai hoi diadikasies demiourgias tou Syntagmatos tou 1844* (The National Assembly of the Third of September in Athens, 1843-1844; Its Historical Physiognomy and the Proceedings Concerning the Creation of the Constitution of 1844).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The title page of He tes trites Septembriou en Athenais Ethnike Syneleusis. Praktika *(The Minutes of the National Assembly of the Third of September in Athens), 1844.*

Anastasiades, Giorgos O. *"He tes trites Septembriou en Athenais" Ethnike Syneleuse, 1843-1844: he historike physiognomia tes kai hoi diadikasies demiourgias tou Syntagmatos tou 1844* (The National Assembly of the Third of September in Athens, 1843-1844; Its Historical Physiognomy and the Proceedings Concerning the Creation of the Constitution of 1844). [Thessalonike: University Studio Press, 1992.]

Compendio della storia del risorgimento della Grecia al 1740 al 1824 (Collection of Stories from 1740 to 1824 on the Greek Revolution. Compilato da M.P.C. Italia: [s.n.], 1825. Pt. 1. Bound with Ellis, Rufus, *Memoir of the Hon. Samuel Howe with Other Notices* (Boston: Wm. Crosby and H.P. Nichols, 1850); and *Act of Incorporation and By-Laws of the "Piscataqua Pioneers"* (Portsmouth, New Hampshire: Piscataqua Pioneers, 1905).

He tes trites Septembriou en Athenais Ethnike Syneleusis. Praktika (The Minutes of the National Assembly of the Third of September in Athens). En Athenais: Ek tou Basilikou Typographeiou, [1844].

Tzanetes, Elias Ioul. *He Philike Hetaireia kai to patriotikon drama: martyres kai ekdiketai* (The *Philike Hetaireia* and the Patriotic Drama: Martyrs and Avengers). 2. ekd. En Springfield, Mass.: E.L. Janetis, 1928.

Travel Literature

Travelers have been drawn to Greece for centuries, especially writers, artists, and scholars. Many of these travelers have written about their experiences, and their writings, particularly those of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, are important for the study of modern Greek history and culture.

Among the Vryonis Center's collection of travelers' literature is a first edition copy of George Cochrane's *Wanderings in Greece*, dated 1837. Cochrane, a Scotsman, was related to Thomas Dundonald, Earl of Cochrane, who, in 1825, was invited to command the Greek navy during the Revolution.

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Cochrane accompanied his distinguished relative to Greece, where he remained, for the most part, until 1836. Cochrane's book is full of anecdotes about the lives of commanders in the Greek army, especially Theodoros Kolokotronis; the activities of King Othon of Greece and the Greek royalty; relations between the Greeks and British diplomatic and military staff; and the social life and customs of the Greek peasantry.

The library has also recently acquired a very rare volume on a more controversial traveler, Thomas Bruce, Earl of Elgin, from Britain. This book, *Memorandum on the Subject of the Earl of Elgin's Pursuits in Greece*, is dated 1811 and chronicles Lord Elgin's projects in Athens from 1801-1802. Lord Elgin was inspired to revolutionize English appreciation of Greek architecture and sculpture. When he procured a permit for archaeological work, he and his hired artists were ostensibly going to measure and draw the statuary and friezes of the Acropolis. Through bribery and deception, they took 120 tons of sculpted marble back to England. They would also have taken the entire Erechtheion temple if it had not been too large to crate up. The sculptures taken from the Parthenon, now in the British Museum, are commonly referred to as the "Elgin Marbles."

Memorandum states that the sculpture and architecture of the Acropolis were exposed daily to "very wilful devastation" on the part of Turks and travelers. The book justifies Elgin's actions, saying that "Lord Elgin felt himself impelled, by a stronger motive than personal gratification, to endeavour to preserve any specimens of sculpture he could, without injury, rescue from such impending ruin."

Cochrane, George. *Wanderings in Greece*. London: H. Colburn, 1837. 2 vols.

Hamilton, W.R. (William Richard). *Memorandum on the Subject of the Earl of Elgin's Pursuits in Greece*. London: Printed for William Miller, Albemarle Street, by James Moyes, Greville Street, Hatton Garden, 1811.

ANCIENT GREECE

The library has recently acquired 34 additional fascicules of the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, bringing the total number to 54. This series is the result of an international project begun in 1919 by the Union Académique Internationale, headquartered in Paris, to catalogue all of the ancient Greek pottery in museum, university, and private collections throughout the world. Over 250 fascicules have been published in this series which is now considered one of the most important sources for the study of ancient Greece.

The library's new acquisitions of the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* include fascicules covering the following museums: Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie de Rennes (France) (1979); Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (Leiden) (1978); Musée National, Varsovie (Poland) (1976); Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1973); Museo di Antichità di Torino (Italy) (1969); Musée de la Ville de Bucarest et Collections Privées (Bucharest) (1968); Musée National, Copenhague (Copenhagen) (1938); Museum of the Rhode Island School of Design, Providence (1933); the Robinson Collection, Baltimore (1937); Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire (Brussels) (1937); University of California Museum of Anthropology (1936); Musée National, Zagreb (1933); Musée National, Athènes (Athens) (1932); Musée Scheurleer (The Hague) (1931); Musée Archéologique National, Madrid (1930); and Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (1928).

The Center has acquired several recent books on democracy in ancient Greece, including James F. McGlew's book, *Tyranny and Political Culture in Ancient Greece*. Among the fundamental questions it asks are why tyrants in ancient Greece were included among the Seven Sages and how Peisistratus, Athenian tyrant extraordinaire, laid the foundations of democratic Periclean Athens and left a Golden Age as his legacy, despite popular philosophical and political sentiment against tyranny in all its aspects.

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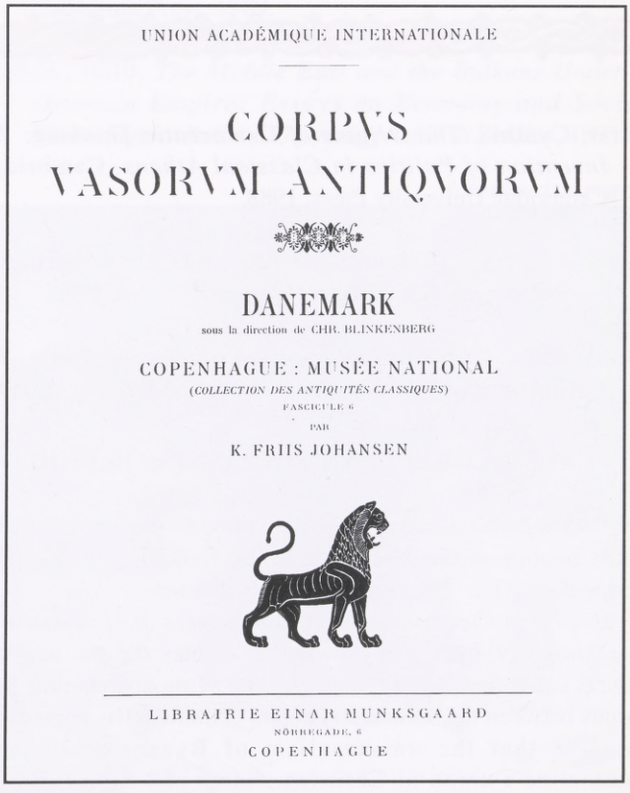
UNION ACADÉMIQUE INTERNATIONALE

CORPVS
VASORVM ANTIQVORVM

DANEMARK
sous la direction de CHR. BLINKENBERG

COPENHAGUE : MUSÉE NATIONAL
(COLLECTION DES ANTIQUITÉS CLASSIQUES)
FASCICULE 6
PAR
K. FRIIS JOHANSEN

LIBRAIRIE EINAR MUNKSGAARD
NØRREGADE, 6
COPENHAGUE

Title page of fascicule 6 of the Union Académique Internationale, Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, *on the National Museum in Copenhagen, 1938.*

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Another new purchase, *The Origins of Democratic Thinking: The Invention of Politics in Classical Athens*, by Cynthia Farrar, focuses on writers of the fifth century B.C. to establish the development of democratic activities in classical Athens. Farrar highlights the contributions made by Protagoras, Thucydides, and Democritus rather than focusing on fourth-century philosophers, such as Plato and Aristotle, who are commonly examined in similar studies. The book aims at determining how the Athenians came to consider themselves autonomous agents in a political community.

The past decade has produced three important studies on ancient Greek slavery and peasantry: Moses I. Finley's *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology*, Yvon Garlan's *Slavery in Ancient Greece*, and a recent Vryonis Center library acquisition by Ellen Meiksins Wood, *Peasant—Citizen and Slave: The Foundations of Athenian Democracy*. In this book, Wood carefully distinguishes between slaves and free peasant laborers. She asserts that free laborers in classical Athens constituted the majority of the population and were accorded privileges of citizenship which greatly exceeded those of independent laborers in other lands. She argues that, far from disdaining labor as scholars often maintain, the ancient Greeks glorified the practical arts as the foundation of civilized life, and they encouraged pride in their artisans and craftsmen.

Warrior. Attic Red Figure cup from Megara, Archaic Period, Scheurleer Museum, The Hague, Netherlands. Illustration from Union Académique Internationale, Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, *Pays-Bas, Musée Scheurleer (La Haye), C.W. Lunsingh-Scheurleer, Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, Paris, 1931, Fascicule 2, Group III I b, Plate 6, No. 4.*

Farrar, Cynthia. *The Origins of Democratic Thinking: The Invention of Politics in Classical Athens*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

McGlew, James F. *Tyranny and Political Culture in Ancient Greece*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1993.

Wood, Ellen Meiksins. *Peasant—Citizen and Slave: The Foundations of Athenian Democracy*. London: Verso, 1989.

LATE ANTIQUITY AND BYZANTINE PERIOD

Two notable recent acquisitions provide unique viewpoints on the history of the Middle East, the Balkans, and Southern Europe during late antiquity and medieval times.

Empire to Commonwealth: Consequences of Monotheism in Late Antiquity, by Garth Fowden, examines the political and cultural consequences of the emergence of monotheism in these regions between the second and eighth centuries. His provocative thesis is that the universalism of Byzantine Emperor Constantine's union of Christian church and Roman Empire found its ultimate expression in the Islamic Caliphate, departing from other scholarship that focuses exclusively on Christian Europe.

John V.A. Fine, Jr.'s book, *The Early Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century*, is a general survey of early medieval Balkan history, covering the period from the arrival of the Slavs in the second half of the sixth and early seventh centuries up to the 1180s. This book deals with the various medieval Balkan peoples as a whole, in contrast to the many works which stress the history of Byzantium and its institutions.

Recent acquisitions in the area of Byzantine religious studies include two publications from the Institut Français d'Études Byzantines: Raymond Janin, *Les églises et les monastères* (Churches and Monasteries); and *Notitiae episcopatuum ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* (Lists of the Episcopates of the Church of Constantinople), with critical text, introduction, and notes by Jean Darrouzès.

Other new books of note in Byzantine studies are Aikaterine Christophilopoulou's *Byzantine historia* (Byzantine History) in two volumes; and *Byzantinotourkika meletemata* (Byzantine-Turkish Studies), a collection of reprinted pieces published from 1981 to 1990, compiled by Alexes Savvides.

The library has also acquired a study of some 30 churches on the Lycaonian plain of central Anatolia, dating from the fifth to the eleventh century. Most of the churches are in ruins. The book, *The Thousand and One Churches*, written in 1909, describes ecclesiastical structures in an area about 50 miles

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south of Konya, Turkey, at the northern foot of the Kara Dagh mountains. The area is referred to as "The Thousand and One Churches" (*Bin Bir Kilisse*) by the local inhabitants, according to the authors of the book, Sir W.M. Ramsay and Gertrude L. Bell, who visited the region a number of times between 1882 and 1909. Their study centers primarily around the churches located near the villages of Deghile and Maden Sheher, and includes maps of the region, floor plans of the churches, information on inscriptions, and numerous photographs.

Christophilopoulou, Aikaterine. *Byzantine historia* (Byzantine History). 2. ekd. me plere bibliographike enemerose. Thessalonike: Ekdoseis Banias, 1992. 2 vols.

Fine, John V.A., Jr. *The Early Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1983, 1991.

Fowden, Garth. *Empire to Commonwealth: Consequences of Monotheism in Late Antiquity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Janin, Raymond. *Les églises et les monastères* (Churches and Monasteries). 2e ed. Paris: Institut Français d'Études Byzantines, 1969.

Notitiae episcopatuum ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae (Lists of the Episcopates of the Church of Constantinople). Texte critique, introduction, et notes par Jean Darrouzès. Paris: Institut Français d'Études Byzantines, 1981.

Ramsay, Sir W.M., and Gertrude L. Bell. *The Thousand and One Churches*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1909.

Savvides, Alexes, comp. *Byzantinotourkika meletemata: anatypose arthron 1981-1990* (Byzantine-Turkish Studies: Reprinted Articles 1981-1990). Athena: Herodotos, 1991.

TOURKOKRATIA

On the topic of the *Tourkokratia* (Greeks under Ottoman rule), the library has acquired two important new books that deal with history, economics, and culture in the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire. *The Middle East and the Balkans Under the Ottoman Empire: Essays on Economy and Society*, by Prof. Halil Inalcik of the University of Chicago, examines the economy and society in the Middle East and the Balkans from the fifteenth through the nineteenth centuries. Inalcik gives a comprehensive view of economic and social conditions in the Ottoman Empire and frequently discusses Greece and regions with Greek populations comparatively with other areas of the Balkans.

The Origins of Backwardness in Eastern Europe: Economics and Politics from the Middle Ages until the Early Twentieth Century is a collection of seven essays by prominent scholars on the political and social causes of slow economic growth in the Balkans through the end of the Ottoman Empire. The essays concentrate on economics, geography, and political rule and autonomy, illustrating that the development of Eastern European urban centers was interrupted, while Western European cities advanced.

Chirot, Daniel, ed. *The Origins of Backwardness in Eastern Europe: Economics and Politics from the Middle Ages until the Early Twentieth Century*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.

Inalcik, Halil. *The Middle East and the Balkans Under the Ottoman Empire: Essays on Economy and Society*. Bloomington: Indiana University Turkish Studies, 1993.

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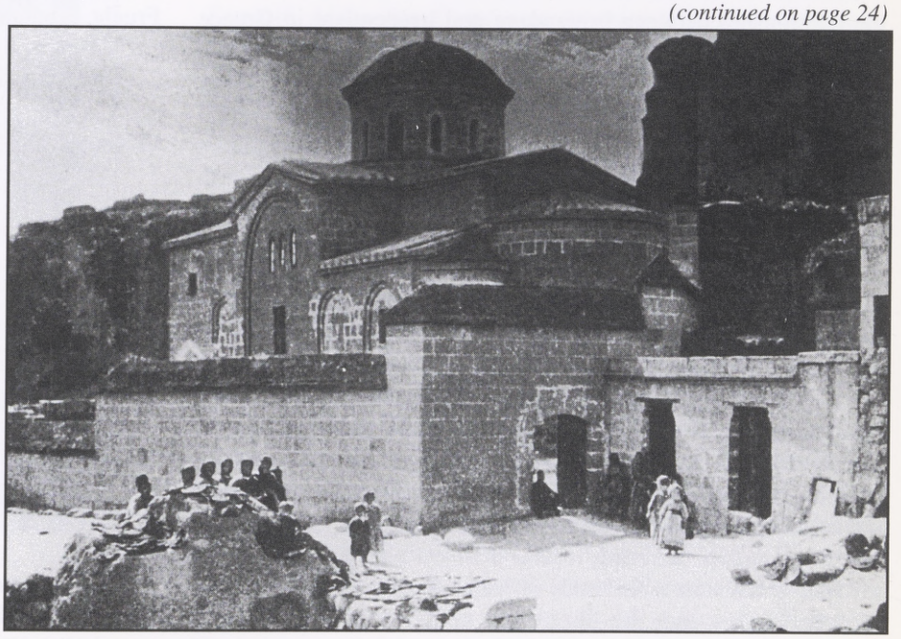

Saint Gregory of Nazianzos, Gelvere, Central Anatolia. Illustration from Sir W.M. Ramsay and Gertrude L. Bell, The Thousand and One Churches, *1909.*

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MODERN GREECE

In support of recent scholarship at the Vryonis Center which has focused on questions of nationalism and democratic transitions in modern Greece and the Balkans, the library has acquired a large collection of books dealing with Greek history and politics from the Greek Revolution through the first few decades of the twentieth century.

Several of these books address the issue of Greek irredentism in the nineteenth century and the goal of the *Megale Idea* (Great Idea). The *Megale Idea*, or the liberation of Greeks still subject to Ottoman rule, was the cornerstone of Greek foreign policy from the end of the Greek Revolution through the early twentieth century.

One of the books in the collection is Helle Skopetea's work, *To "Protypo Vasileio" kai he Megale Idea: opseis tou ethnikou problematos sten Hellada* (1830-1880) (The "Model Kingdom" and the Great Idea: Views of the National Problem in Greece (1830-1880), which addresses domestic and foreign problems in the kingdom of Greece relating to the *Megale Idea* from 1830 to 1880. Also in the collection is *Risorgimento kai Megale Idea: Hellenoitalikes politikes kai ideologikes scheseis, 1859-1862* (*Risorgimento* and the Great Idea: Greek-Italian Political and Ideological Relations, 1859-1862), by Antones Liakos, which discusses the successful Italian unification effort (*risorgimento*) in Italy in the 1850s and its effect on Greek irredentism during the last years of the reign of King Othon of Greece.

A third notable acquisition in this area is Giannes S. Koliopoulos's book, *Brigands with a Cause: Brigandage and Irredentism in Modern Greece, 1821-1912*. This book examines the relationship between brigandage and irredentism in Greece from the Greek Revolution through the early twentieth century, tracing its impact on Greek politics and government and its influence on modern Greek identity and nationalism.

The library recently acquired two works by Gerasimos Augustinos, professor of history at the University of South Carolina. *The Greeks of Asia Minor: Confession, Community, and Ethnicity in the Nineteenth Century* is a meticulous historical account that details the emergence of Greek national aspirations within the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century. *Diverse Paths to Modernity in Southeastern Europe*, edited by Augustinos, presents the different approaches to modernization used in Bulgaria, Greece, Rumania, and Yugoslavia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It shows how attempts at modernization have been greatly affected by the domestic politics and ethnic divisions of the four countries, as well as by the international politics and economics of each era.

Pursuant to the study of the history and politics of the modern Greek state is the study of nationalism and its causes and effects. To this end, the library has acquired several recently published books on the topic. They include *Nationalism*, by Peter Alter; *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* by Benedict Anderson; *Nationalism and the State*, by John Breuilly; *Labyrinth of Nationalism, Complexities of Diplomacy: Essays in Honor of Charles and Barbara Jelavich* edited by Richard Frucht; *Nations and Nationalism*, by Ernest Gellner; *National Liberation*, by Nigel Harris; *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, by E.J. Hobsbawm; *Romanticism in National Context*, edited by Roy Porter and Mikulás Teich; and *National Identity*, by Anthony D. Smith. The Porter and Teich book contains an interesting discussion of romanticism in Greece from a literary, historical, and cultural perspective.

Alter, Peter. *Nationalism*. London: Edward Arnold, 1989.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1991.

Augustinos, Gerasimos. *The Greeks of Asia Minor: Confession, Community, and Ethnicity in the Nineteenth Century*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1992.

Augustinos, Gerasimos, ed. *Diverse Paths to Modernity in Southeastern Europe*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1991.

Breuilly, John. *Nationalism and the State*. 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Frucht, Richard, ed. *Labyrinth of Nationalism, Complexities of Diplomacy: Essays in Honor of Charles and Barbara Jelavich*. Columbus, Ohio: Slavica Publishers, 1992.

Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1983.

Harris, Nigel. *National Liberation*. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1993.

Hobsbawm, E.J. *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Koliopoulos, Giannes S. *Brigands with a Cause: Brigandage and Irredentism in Modern Greece, 1821-1912*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987.

Liakos, Antones. *Risorgimento kai Megale Idea: Hellenoitalikes politikes kai ideologikes scheseis, 1859-1862* (*Risorgimento* and the Great Idea: Greek-Italian Political and Ideological

(continued on page 25)

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Relations, 1859-1862). Thessalonike: Aristoteleio Panepistemio Thessalonikes, 1984.

Porter, Roy, and Mikulás Teich, eds. *Romanticism in National Context*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Skopetea, Helle. *To "Protypo Vasileio" kai he Megale Idea: opseis tou ethnikou problematos sten Hellada* (1830-1880) (The "Model Kingdom" and the Great Idea: Views of the National Problem in Greece (1830-1880). Athena: Ekdoseis Polytypo, 1988.

Smith, Anthony D. *National Identity*. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1991.

DIASPORA

The library has acquired some fascinating works on Greeks in the diaspora in recent months. Among them is *Griegos en América* (Greeks in America), in Spanish, by Alexander Kitroeff, which offers a comprehensive overview of the history and culture, as well as the political and economic status of Greeks in the United States, Canada, and Latin America. The book begins with the significance of the diaspora in the history of Greece and traces the immigration of Greeks to the Americas from 1492 to the present. Kitroeff examines the historical and present geographic distribution of Greeks in the Americas and their occupations; looks at questions of status and ethnic identity; and discusses the religious and cultural institutions of Greeks in the Americas from historical and modern viewpoints.

Greek Voices in Australia: A Tradition of Prose, Poetry, and Drama by George Kanarakis, anthologizes more than 80 Greek-Australian writers, poets, and dramatists from the early 1900s forward, providing a bio-bibliographical essay for each. The book is well illustrated, with portraits and photographs of the writers, and facsimiles of magazine covers and newspaper articles from earlier decades. An introductory essay covers the literary presence of the Greeks in Australia and emphasizes the valuable contribution of Greek-Australian literature to the intellectual and artistic life of the Greek diaspora as a whole.

Edited by Savvas Patsalides, *Hellenismos kai E.P.A./Hellenism and the U.S.: Constructions, Deconstructions* is a collection of 27 essays in Greek and English on various aspects of the influence that Greece and the United States have had on each other in the areas of literature, philosophy, and culture.

The cast of the first performance of the play "To Koureli" (The Rag) by Dario Nicodemi, April 16, 1931, the first production of the Greek Theater Group of Australia. Illustration from George Kanarakis, Greek Voices in Australia: A Tradition of Prose, Poetry and Drama, *1987.*

Kanarakis, George. *Greek Voices in Australia: A Tradition of Prose, Poetry, and Drama*. Botany, New South Wales: Australian National University Press, 1987.

Kitroeff, Alexander. *Griegos en América* (Greeks in America). Madrid: Editorial MAPFRE, 1992.

Patsalides, Savvas, ed. *Hellenismos kai E.P.A./Hellenism and the U.S.: Constructions, Deconstructions*. Thessalonike: Hellenike Hetaireia Amerikanikon Spoudon, Aristotle University, 1994.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

The library has nearly doubled its collection of current newspapers and periodicals in the past year. New acquisitions include the *American Journal of Philology* (Baltimore); *Arethusa* (Baltimore); *The Athenian* (Athens, Greece); *Athens News* (Athens, Greece); *Cyprus Review* (Nicosia, Cyprus); *Daulos* (Athens, Greece); *Dialogos: Hellenic Studies Review* (London); *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* (New York); *East European Quarterly* (Boulder, Colorado); *EEPS-East European Politics and Societies* (Berkeley); *European History Quarterly* (London); *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* (New Brunswick, New Jersey); *Journal of Democracy* (Baltimore); *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*

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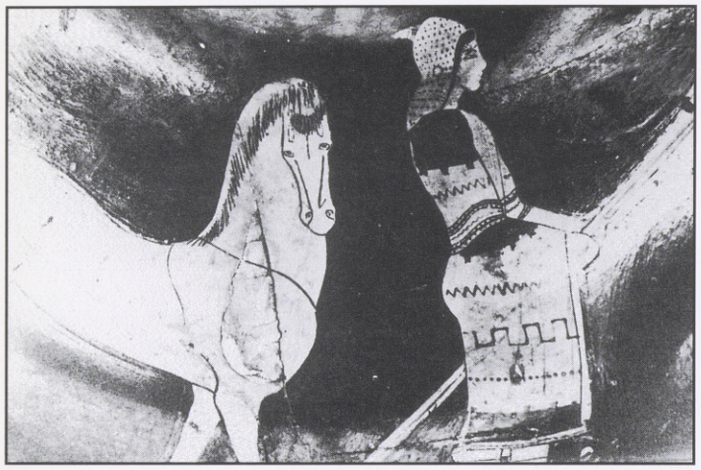

Adolescent Greek horseman in military dress, with his horse. Attic Red Figure hydria, National Archaeological Museum, Madrid. Illustration from Union Académique Internationale, Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, *Espagne, Madrid: Museo Arqueológico Nacional, J.R. Mélida, Madrid, Librería Gutenberg, and Paris, Librairie Champion, 1935, Fascicule 2, Group III I C, Plate 14.*

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(Baltimore); *Journal of Modern Hellenism* (Brookline, Massachusetts); *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* (New York); *Journal of Mediterranean* Studies (Malta); *Religion in Eastern Europe* (Rosemont, Pennsylvania); *Slavic Review* (Stanford); and *World Affairs* (Washington, D.C.).

In addition, the library has obtained full or nearly full runs of the following international journals which each have texts in English, French, and German: *Revue des études byzantines* (Paris), on Byzantine history and culture; *Südost-Forschungen* (Munich), on the history and culture of Southern Europe; and *Turcica* (Istanbul), on Turkish studies.

The library has significantly enhanced its holdings of Greek academic journals in the past year through extensive purchase of back issues of periodicals and monographs in series published in Greece. Titles acquired include *Archeion Euboïkon Meleton*; *Chiaka Chronika*; *Deltion tes Historikes kai Ethnologikes Hetaireias tes Hellados*; *Epeteris "Hidrymatos Neohellenikon Spoudon;" Epeteris Hetaireias Kykladikon Meleton; Epeteris Hetaireias Stereohelladikon Meleton*; *Hellenic Review of International Relations*; *Hepeirotika Chronika; Hepeirotiko Hemerologio; Kerkyraika Chronika; Kretika Chronika; Kretika Hestia; Lakonikai Spoudai; Lesbiaka; Nisyriaka; Philologike Protochronia*; and *Polyptychon.*

VOLUNTEERS

Dena Kuchulis of the Library Services Department, San Juan Unified School District, is in her third year of regular weekly volunteer work in the Vryonis Center Library. Recently, she has been working on the preservation of rare and damaged books by cleaning and repairing the volumes and making protective covers for them.

Marie Bravou, a Sacramento-based Greek language tutor, has also volunteered her time in the library to translate entries in the online catalogue.

The Vryonis Center would like to express its gratitude to these volunteers.

DONATIONS

We gratefully acknowledge and thank the following people who have generously donated books, periodicals, maps, and/or other materials to the Vryonis Center Library: Jelisaveta Stanojevich Allen, Dumbarton Oaks,Washington, D.C.; Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, Nicosia, Cyprus; California State University Library, Sacramento; Lydia Carras, London, England; Demetrios Constantelos, Richard Stockton College, Pomona, New Jersey; William Econome, Vryonis Center; Olga Eleftheriades, Monterey, California; Stephen Fischer-Galati, University of Colorado, Boulder; Efie Gavaki, Concordia University, Montreal, Canada; E.N. Genovese, San Diego State University, California; Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP), Athens, Greece; George Kanarakis, Charles Sturt University, Bathurst, New South Wales, Australia; Alexander Kitroeff, New York University; Nicholas J. Minadakis, Wells, Maine; National Bank Cultural Foundation, Athens, Greece; Sophie Papageorgiou, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Greece; Politistiko Kentro Laikes Trapezas, Nicosia, Cyprus; Harry J. Psomiades, Queens College, City University of New York, Flushing, New York; James J. Reid, Vryonis Center; Robert J. Smutny, University of the Pacific, Stockton, California; Nikolay Todorov, Sofia, Bulgaria; Bishop John Kallos, Saint Photios National Greek Orthodox Shrine, Saint Augustine, Florida; Maria Todorova, University of Florida, Gainesville; Nikolaos K. Uzunoglu, National Technical University of Athens, Greece; Ana Varbanova, Sofia, Bulgaria; Christina Varda, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Greece; Irene Vaslev, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington,

(continued on page 27)

Dena Kuchulis, Vryonis Center Library Volunteer.

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D.C.; Paul P. Vouras, William Peterson College, Wayne, New Jersey; Panayotis Yannopoulos, ILV-GREC, Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium.

We are especially grateful to Father Demetrios Constantelos for his significant contribution of back issues of over 14 journal titles to the library, including *Agoge*; *Anaplasis; Classical World; Ekklesia*; and *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*.

We also note Prof. Harry J. Psomiades' gift of 19 books on modern Greece, as well as a full run of the *Journal of Modern Hellenism* from 1984 through 1992; a nearly full run of the *Middle East Journal* from 1953 through 1991; and a full run of *Modern Greek Society: A Social Science Newsletter* from 1973 through 1992. The Vryonis Center is grateful to Prof. Psomiades for this donation.

Finally, we recognize the many contributions we have received from the National Bank Cultural Foundation in Greece, which has sent us over 100 books in the past several months on modern Greek history, economics, and literature.

VRYONIS CENTER STAFF NEWS

In January 1994, Dr. James J. Reid, who had been the director of the Vryonis Center Library since September 1991, was appointed to a new position. Dr. Reid became the first Senior Research Fellow of the Vryonis Center. In his new position, Dr. Reid is devoting his time to research. His fields of interest include Byzantine, Ottoman, and Middle Eastern history, and the history of the modern Greek state.

In March 1994, David Lindstrom joined the staff of the Center as Assistant Librarian and is working under the Center's Librarian, Janet Coles. Mr. Lindstrom received his Master's in Library Science from Simmons College in Boston in 1993 and completed a course in museology in Florence, Italy, in 1992.

In October 1994, Robert Arbaugh became the new Library Assistant. Mr. Arbaugh is a student in Fire Science and Management at American River College in Sacramento. John Miller, who completed a B.A. in Humanities at California State University, Sacramento (CSUS), earlier this year, worked as a Library Assistant at the Center during the summer months of 1994. Anna Yannacodimou, a graduate student at CSUS in music history, returned to Greece at the end of 1993 after holding the Library Assistant position for one year and a half.

Theodora Bauguess, who had been the Administrative Assistant to the director of the Center for five years, left the Center earlier this year in order to start a family. Mrs. Bauguess had been taking courses in Sacramento toward a degree in education during her years at the Center. Joanna Sampanis, who is studying for a Master's in English Literature at CSUS, worked in this capacity at the Center from May through September, 1994. In October 1994, Michelle Aulisio became the new Administrative Assistant. Ms. Aulisio recently completed an Associate of Arts degree at American River College.

Herakles and Apollo disputing over the Delphic tripod. Attic Black Figure hydria, National Archaeological Museum, Madrid. Illustration from Union Académique Internationale, Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, *Espagne, Madrid, Musée Archéologique National, J.R. Mélida, Madrid, Librería Gutenberg, and Paris, Librairie Champion, 1930, Fascicule 1, Group III H e, Plate 13.*

CYPRIOT AMBASSADOR VISITS VRYONIS CENTER

In the spring of 1994, Cypriot Ambassador to the U.S. Andrew J. Jacovides and his wife Pamela Jacovides visited the Vryonis Center. The ambassador was in Sacramento to deliver a lecture at California State University, Sacramento, on the current status of the negotiations for a settlement to the Cyprus problem.

Cypriot Ambassador to the United States Andrew J. Jacovides, second from the right, with, from right to left, his wife, Pamela Jacovides; Vryonis Center Director Christos P. Ioannides; Honorary Consul General of Cyprus in San Francisco, Dr. Anastasios Simonides; and Dr. Simonides' wife, Athena Simonides.

VRYONIS CENTER PUBLICATIONS

Since 1991, the Vryonis Center has been collaborating with Aristide D. Caratzas, Publisher, in New Rochelle, New York, to produce two series of books entitled **Hellenism: Ancient, Mediaeval, Modern**, and **Subsidia Balcanica, Islamica, et Turcica.**

Inquiries concerning the purchase of these books should be made directly to Aristide D. Caratzas whose address appears at the end of this section.

Hellenism: Ancient, Mediaeval, Modern Series

Byzantine Institutions: Society and Culture

Speros Vryonis, Jr., 2 vols.

Volume 1: ***Institutions and Society***
288 pp., cloth. ISBN: 0-89241-528-2. $60.

Volume 2: ***Provinces, Foreigners, and the Twilight of the Empire***
384 pp., cloth. ISBN: 0-89241-542-8. $70.

Byzantine Studies: Essays on the Slavic World and the Eleventh Century

Speros Vryonis, Jr., Editor
1992, xi + 188 pp., illustrated, index, cloth. ISBN: 0-89241-517-7. $50.

Byzantium's Last Imperial Offensive in Asia Minor: The Documentary Evidence for and Hagiographical Lore about John III Ducas Vatatzes' Crusade against the Turks, 1222 or 1225 to 1231

John S. Langdon
1992, xvi + 156 pp., illustrated, index, cloth. ISBN: 0-89241-497-9. $45.

Christian Hellenism: Essays and Studies in Continuity and Change

Demetrios J. Constantelos
292 pp., cloth. ISBN: 0-89241-532-1. $60.

Cretica: Studies on Ancient Crete

Stylianos V. Spyridakis
1992, x + 203 pp., index, cloth. ISBN: 0-89241-505-3. $50.

Cyprus: Domestic Dynamics, External Constraints

Christos P. Ioannides, Editor
1992, xv + 150 pp., index, cloth. ISBN: 0-89241-519-3. $35.

Graeco-Africana: Studies in the History of Greek Relations with Egypt and Nubia

Stanley M. Burstein
256 pp., cloth. ISBN: 0-89241-520-7. $40.

House of a well-to-do Christian, Nicolo Argyri, in Ioannina, Greece, during the time of Ali Pasha. Lord Byron was a guest at the house. Illustration from Traian Stoianovich, Between East and West: The Balkan and Mediterranean Worlds, *Vol. 2,* Economies and Societies: Traders, Towns, and Households, *1992.*

Greece on the Road to Democracy: From the Junta to PASOK, 1974-1986

Speros Vryonis, Jr., Editor
1991, xvi + 402 pp., illustrated, index, cloth. ISBN: 0-89241-475-8. $60.

The Greek Community of New York City: Early Years to 1910

Michael Contopoulos
1992, xvi + 232 pp., index, cloth. ISBN: 0-89241-518-5. $40.

The Greeks and the Sea

Speros Vryonis, Jr., Editor
1993, 224 pp., 33 illustrations, cloth. ISBN: 0-89241-521-5. $65.

Nationalism and Communism in Macedonia: Civil Conflict, Politics of Mutation, National Identity

Evangelos Kofos
1993, xxi + 336 pp., index, cloth. ISBN: 0-89241-540-1. $40.

Poverty, Society, and Philanthropy in the Late Mediaeval Greek World

Demetrios J. Constantelos
1992, 190 pp., illustrated, index, cloth. ISBN: 0-89241-401-4. $60.

Subsidia Balcanica, Islamica, et Turcica Series

Between East and West: The Balkan and Mediterranean Worlds

Traian Stoianovich

Volume 1: ***Economies and Societies: Land, Lords, States, and Middlemen***
1992, xviii + 138 pp., illustrated, index, cloth. ISBN: 0-89241-501-0. $85.

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VRYONIS CENTER PUBLICATIONS

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Volume 2: ***Economies and Societies: Traders, Towns, and Households***
1992, xiii + 191 pp., illustrated, index, cloth. ISBN: 0-89241-502-9. $85.

Volume 3: ***Material Culture and Mentalités: Power and Ideology***
1993, 160 pp., 40 illustrations, cloth. ISBN: 0-89241-506-1. $95.

Volume 4: ***Material Culture and Mentalités: Land, Sea, and Destiny***
1993, 160 pp., 40 illustrations, cloth. ISBN: 0-89241-5-7-X. $95.

In Turkey's Image: The Transformation of Occupied Cyprus into a Turkish Province

Christos P. Ioannides

1991, xi + 254 pp., illustrated, index, cloth. ISBN: 0-89241-509-6. $30.

The Ottoman City and Its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order

Irene A. Bierman, Rifa'at A. Abou-El-Haj, and Donald Preziosi, Editors

1991, x + 256 pp., illustrated, index, cloth. ISBN: 0-89241-473-1. $60.

A two-volume Festschrift in honor of Dr. Speros Vryonis, Jr.'s sixty-fifth birthday was released in the summer of 1993. It was published under the auspices of the Vryonis Center by Aristide D. Caratzas and is not part of the two series listed above.

To Hellenikon: Studies in Honor of Speros Vryonis, Jr.

John S. Langdon, Stephen W. Reinert, Jelisaveta Stanojevich Allen, and Christos P. Ioannides, Editors. 2 vols.

Volume I: ***Hellenic Antiquity and Byzantium***
1993, xlvii + 474 pp., cloth. ISBN: 0-89241-512-6. $75

Volume II: ***Byzantinoslavica, Armenaica, Islamica, and the Balkans and Modern Greece***
1993, xvi + 478 pp., cloth, ISBN: 0-89241-513-4. $75.

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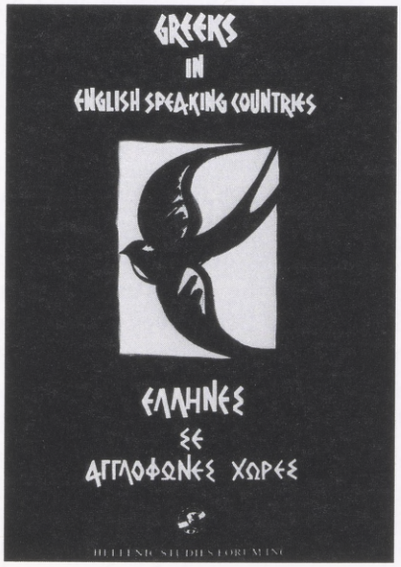

Cover of Melbourne conference proceedings.

We are pleased to announce that the proceedings of the conference on "Greeks in English-Speaking Countries," held in Melbourne, Australia, from March 27-29, 1992, have been published by the Melbourne-based Hellenic Studies Forum, Inc., and are now available to the public. This event was the inaugural conference of the biennial series of conferences on Greeks in English-speaking countries.

The Vryonis Center will be handling orders for this book, *Greeks in English-Speaking Countries*, from people who live in the United States and Canada only.

To order the book on the Melbourne conference proceedings, please make out a check for $25 U.S. dollars payable to the Hellenic Studies Forum, Inc. Mail your check to the S.B. Vryonis Center, 3140 Gold Camp Drive, Suite 50, Rancho Cordova, CA 95670.

Inquiries from countries other than the U.S. and Canada, concerning orders for the book, should be made through the Hellenic Studies Forum, Inc., P.O. Box 18146, Collins Street East, Melbourne, 3000, Australia, fax number (613) 725-1403.

VRYONIS CENTER VISITING SCHOLARS PROGRAM

Four scholars took part in the Vryonis Center Visiting Scholars Program for the academic year 1993-1994. This program was initiated in the fall of 1993 to give scholars an opportunity to conduct research at the Vryonis Center and broaden its range of academic activities.

The three professors who took part in the first year of the program were Dr. Nikolay Todorov (January-July 1994), Dr. Harry J. Psomiades (October-December 1993), and Dr. Alexander Kitroeff (January-June 1994).

The first Post-Doctoral Fellow under this program was Dr. Elizabeth Prodromou who was at the Center from September 1993 to August 1994.

The 1994-1995 Visiting Scholars Program began with the return of Dr. Psomiades (September-December 1994).

ACTIVITIES OF THE VISITING SCHOLARS

Dr. Nikolay Todorov

Dr. Nikolay Todorov was a professor of Balkan history at the University of Sofia from the late 1950s until the early 1970s. He was one of the cofounders of the International Association for South-Eastern European Studies, founded in Bucharest, Rumania, in 1963, and recently served as its president. In 1964, he founded the Institute for Balkan Studies at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and was its director for 25 years. Dr. Todorov has also served as the vice-president of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (1984-1988), a member of the Executive Council of UNESCO (1972-1976), and chairman of the General Conference of UNESCO (1985-1987). In 1990 and 1991, he was the chairman of Bulgaria's Grand National Assembly, the country's first democratically-elected parliament following the collapse of communism.

From 1979 to 1983, Dr. Todorov was Bulgaria's ambassador to Greece. While he was a Visiting Scholar at the Vryonis Center earlier this year, he wrote a book based on his experiences as ambassador entitled *The Ambassador as Historian: An Eyewitness Account of Bulgarian-Greek Relations in the 1980s*. It will be published under the auspices of the Vryonis Center. (See the interview with Dr. Todorov on pages 34-37 for more details on his book and his perspective on the history of Bulgarian-Greek relations.)

Dr. Nikolay Todorov, right, at the History Corner of the Main Quadrangle of Stanford University, with his wife, Dr. Ana Varbanova, and Dr. Wayne Vucinich, Professor Emeritus of History, Stanford.

Among the other books Dr. Todorov has written are *Documents on the Bulgarians in the Greek Revolution* (1975); *The Balkan City, 1500-1900* (1972); *Ottoman Sources on Bulgarian History* (1966); and *Philike Hetaireia and the Bulgarians* (1965).

Dr. Todorov is currently a member of the international editorial board for the upcoming edition of the multi-volume work *History of Mankind*, first published in the 1970s under the auspices of UNESCO. He is one of two scholars responsible for the volume covering nineteenth-century world history.

As a Visiting Scholar at the Vryonis Center, Dr. Todorov was invited by Dr. Donald Gerth, President of California State University, Sacramento (CSUS), to take part in two events in his honor on the campus last spring. These events were attended by CSUS faculty, and the staff and Visiting Scholars of the Vryonis Center.

The first event was a seminar in which Dr. Todorov presented his observations on Eastern Europe and the Balkans with respect to the dissolution of the former Soviet Union and the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. He asserted that Bulgaria was in a strong position in terms of its internal dynamics and social cohesiveness, and would not have the difficulties seen in Yugoslavia. Introductory remarks were presented by Dr. Gerth. Among the CSUS faculty taking part in the seminar were Dr. Robert Curry, Professor of Economics and Coordinator of the the university's International Affairs Graduate Program; Dr. Richard Hughes, Professor of Government; Dr. Kevin Calandri, Professor of Economics; Dr. Richard Cooper, Professor of History; Dr. Jerry Tobey, Professor of History; and Dr. Brad Nystrom, Professor of Humanities and Religious Studies.

The second event was a luncheon at the University Center. Those attending from CSUS included Dr. Gerth; Dr. Jolene Koester, Vice-President of Academic Affairs; Dr. Stephen Harris, Chairman of the Department of Humanities and Religious Studies; and Drs. Tobey and Nystrom. The group discussed the Balkan crisis and the current situation in Bulgaria with Dr. Todorov.

Last May, Dr. Todorov delivered a lecture on "The Post-Communist Period in Bulgaria and the Current Situation in the Balkans" at the University of Washington in Seattle. The lecture was part of the Russian and East European Lecture Series of the university's Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies,

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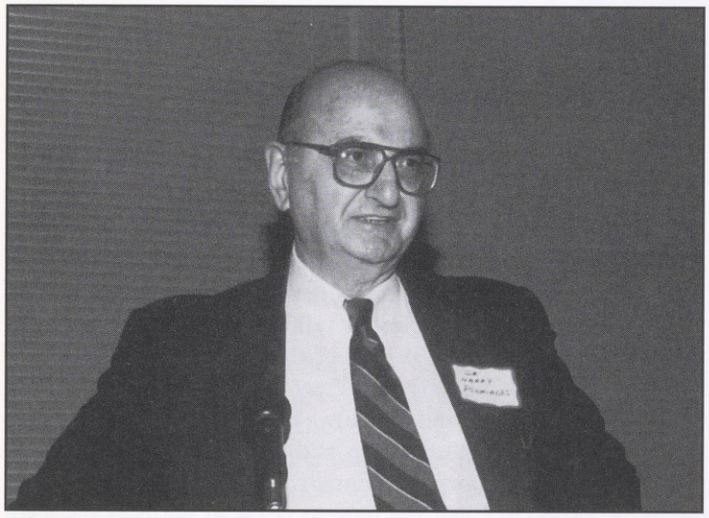
which cosponsored the event along with the university's history department. Dr. Peter Sugar, Professor Emeritus of History at the university, hosted a dinner at his home for university faculty in honor of Dr. Todorov.

In June, the Center for Russian and East European Studies at Stanford University sponsored a luncheon for Dr. Todorov at the university faculty club. The director of the Center is Dr. Norman Naimark and the assistant director is Irena Barnes.

The event was coordinated by Steven Mavromihalis, a doctoral student in early-modern European history at Stanford, and was hosted by Dr. Wayne Vucinich, Professor Emeritus of History at the university. Other guests at the luncheon were Col. Frederick Seamon, former military attache at the U.S. Embassy in Belgrade; Dr. Ann Kiremidjian, Professor of Civil Engineering at Stanford; Dr. Maria Todorova, Dr. Todorov's daughter who is a professor of history at the University of Florida, Gainesville; Dr. Ana Varbanova, Dr. Todorov's wife; and his granddaughter, Anna Toshkova. The luncheon was followed by a tour of the campus, including the Hoover Institution and its collection of Bulgarian artifacts.

Dr. Harry J. Psomiades



Dr. Harry J. Psomiades speaks to the World Affairs Council of Sacramento on the topic of "Macedonia: the Powder Keg of the Balkans" in November 1993.

Dr. Harry J. Psomiades has been a professor of political science at Queens College and the Graduate School of the City University of New York since 1965. In 1973, he founded the Center for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies at Queens College and has been its director since that time.

While he was a Visiting Scholar at the Vryonis Center in the fall of 1993, Dr. Psomiades carried out research for a monograph on the Greek-Turkish Compulsory Population Exchange of 1923, which followed the so-called Greek-Turkish War of 1919-1922. (For a detailed interview with Dr. Psomiades on the significance of this population exchange, see pages 36-40 of the Vryonis Center Fall 1993 Newsletter. See also page 18 of the Spring 1993 Newsletter.)

After conducting research in Geneva and Athens during the summer of 1994, Dr. Psomiades returned to Sacramento in September 1994 for three months to write the monograph, as a Vryonis Center Visiting Scholar. Although the monograph focuses primarily on the 1923 population exchange, it also places the exchange within the more general context of the involuntary displacement of populations that have taken place since then, such as the situation in Cyprus after 1974, and, more recently, the crises in Bosnia, Rwanda, and certain regions of the former Soviet Union.

The primary emphasis of Dr. Psomiades' work has been on the unpublished papers of Dr. Fridtjof Nansen who was Secretary General of Refugees of the League of Nations during the period covered by the 1923 population exchange.

Dr. Psomiades has collected data on these papers and other aspects of the monograph, covering the years 1914-1924, in Geneva, London, Paris, Moscow, Athens, and Washington, D.C., over the past four years. The material includes files of the League of Nations, including the Nansen papers, now in the United Nations library in Geneva; archival data from the International Red Cross, also in Geneva; documents from the foreign ministries of Greece, Britain, and France; U.S. State Department papers; and the *Report of the Near East Relief* published by the U.S. government.

During the two periods that Dr. Psomiades spent at the Center in 1993 and 1994, he gave several lectures in Sacramento.

In his November 1993 lecture to the World Affairs Council of Sacramento entitled "Macedonia: The Powder Keg of the Balkans," he presented a general history of the Macedonian question, arguing that an independent, viable Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia was in the interests of both Athens and Skopje. In addition, he covered the role of Bulgaria in the present Balkan crisis and concluded that the country's current policy is basically compatible with that of Greece.

Dr. Psomiades' talk at a dinner given by the American Hellenic Professional Society of Sacramento in December 1993 focused on "The Phantom Republic of Pontos and the *Megale Katastrophe* (Great Catastrophe)."

The destruction of the Pontic homeland of 3,000 years, south of the Black Sea in Turkey, began in 1908 and ended in 1923 when the remaining Pontian Greeks left for Greece as part of the compulsory population exchange following the end of the so-called Greek-Turkish War. The expulsion of most of the Greek population of Asia Minor as a result of this war is commonly referred to as the *Megale Katastrophe*. In 1920, the Pontian Greeks made a desperate attempt to survive in their ancestral homeland by expressing their desire to form an

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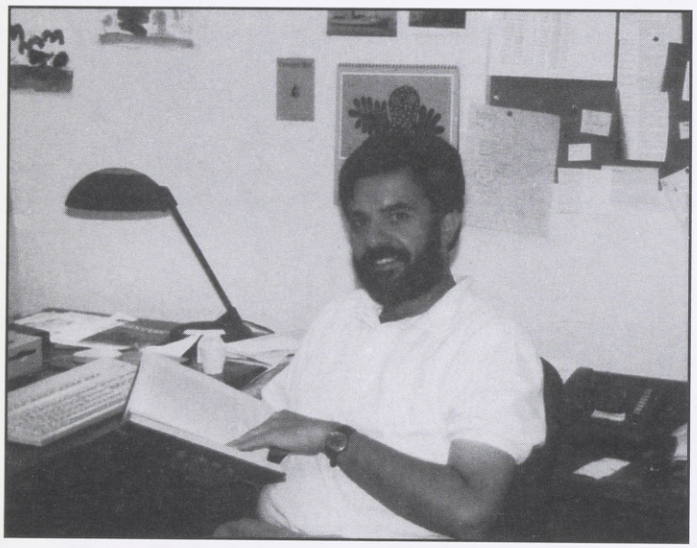
autonomous Republic of Pontos. This desire never became a reality, and, in fact, led to further expulsions of the Greeks from Pontos.

In December 1994, Dr. Psomiades was to be the guest of honor at a luncheon at the Greek Orthodox Church of the Annunciation in Sacramento to discuss the 1923 population exchange. The year 1994 is the seventy-first anniversary of the Treaty of Lausanne in July 1923, which ended the war between Greece and Turkey, also involving the allies, and formally ended World War I in the Middle East.

The months Dr. Psomiades spent at the Vryonis Center were part of his sabbatical, which was divided between two academic years. He will resume his teaching at Queens College in January 1995 and plans to undertake a major fundraising drive for the Center for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, one of the major centers of Hellenic Studies in the U.S. Over the past 20 years, more than 10,000 students have taken courses at the Center on topics such as modern Greek culture; the Greek-American community; Greek foreign policy; modern Greek history, language, and literature; and the economy of Greece.

Dr. Alexander Kitroeff



Dr. Alexander Kitroeff in his office at the Vryonis Center.

Dr. Alexander Kitroeff is currently an Assistant Professor in New York University's History Department and the Alexander S. Onassis Center for Hellenic Studies, where he teaches courses on modern Greek history, the modern history of the Balkans, the the history of the Mediterranean world, and nationalism and minorities in Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Before joining the faculty of New York University in 1990, he taught courses on Balkan and Mediterranean history at Princeton University, Queens College of the City University of New York, and Temple University in Philadelphia.

During the six months he spent at the Vryonis Center as a Visiting Scholar, his research focused on various aspects of the *Megale Idea* (Great Idea). (See the interview on pages 38-41 for more information on the *Megale Idea* and Dr. Kitroeff's research.)

While he was in Sacramento, he organized an in-house seminar at the Vryonis Center on the Greek Revolution, with the participation of the Center's Visiting Scholars and staff, and a small group of professors and graduate students from the area. Dr. Kitroeff raised several points for discussion which included (1) the fact that the preparations for the Revolution were excellent, considering the conditions in the Balkans in the early nineteenth century, and (2) the role of the following in the Revolution: Russia; the other Balkan peoples; and the different strata of Greek society, such as the intelligentsia, the merchants and artisans, and the military groups.

Dr. Kitroeff also gave two lectures on "The Politics of Balkan Nationalism" at the University of California, Davis. One was delivered at the invitation of the Institute of Governmental Affairs as part of its series of talks on "Eastern Europe in Transition." The other was part of the spring quarter Program Colloquium of the university's Center for Comparative Research in History, Society, and Culture. The Program Colloquium focused on "Political Culture and Cultural Dimensions of Politics." In his lectures, Dr. Kitroeff noted that both the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913 and the present crisis in the Balkans have been misrepresented because Western observers have focused on their violent aspects, rather than on the political contexts in which they have occurred. In addition, he discussed both the intellectual and political roots of Greek and Balkan nationalism in the mid-nineteenth century.

Alexander Kitroeff was born in Athens in 1955 and completed his higher education in Britain, receiving a doctorate in modern history from Oxford University in 1984. His dissertation on the Greek community in Egypt was published in 1989 under the title *The Greeks in Egypt, 1919-1937: Ethnicity and Class*. It was part of a series of monographs published by Saint Antony's College, Oxford.

His writings have also concentrated on the topics of immigrant ethnicity and nationalism in Greece and the Balkans. With the help of an Advanced Research Scholarship awarded by the Social Science Research Council, Dr. Kitroeff studied the politics and history of the Greek-American community and wrote his second book, *Griegos en América*, that was published as part of a series of volumes commissioned by the Madrid-based MAPFRE foundation to mark the quincentenery of Columbus's voyage to the Americas.

Dr. Kitroeff is currently serving as a member of the editorial board of the *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora*.

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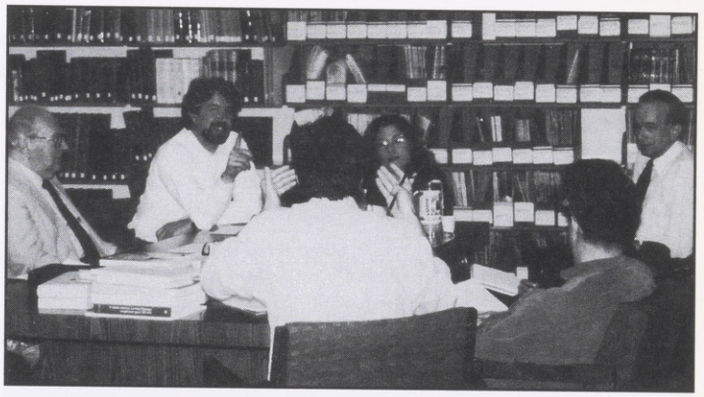
An in-house seminar on the Greek Revolution at the Vryonis Center, which was organized by Dr. Alexander Kitroeff. The Vryonis Center Visiting Scholars and staff, and a small group of professors and graduate students from the area took part. From left to right, facing the camera, Dr. Nikolay Todorov, Vryonis Center Visiting Scholar; Steven Mavromihalis, a doctoral student in early-modern European history, Stanford; Dr. Elizabeth Prodromou, Vryonis Center Visiting Scholar; and Dr. Speros Vryonis, Jr., Professor of History, New York University, and Vryonis Center Trustee. From left to right, facing away from the camera, Dr. Alexander Kitroeff, Vryonis Center Visiting Scholar; and David Lindstrom, Assistant Librarian, Vryonis Center Library.



Dr. Elizabeth Prodromou

Dr. Elizabeth Prodromou received her doctorate in political science from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1993. Her dissertation topic was "Democracy, Religion, and Identity in Socialist Greece: Church-State Relations Under PASOK, 1981-1989." (PASOK is the Panhellenic Socialist Movement, a political party founded by Andreas Papandreou in 1974.) From 1991-1993, she was an Affiliate Scholar at the Center for European Studies at Harvard University, where she chaired the Greek Study Group. (See also page 35 of the Vryonis Center Fall 1993 Newsletter.)

The primary focus of her work at the Vryonis Center was researching and writing a monograph entitled "Democracy and Eastern Christianity in the 'Other Europe:' An Essay on Methodological and Theoretical Responsibility," based on her dissertation. (See the interview with Dr. Prodromou on pages 42-46 for more information on her monograph and dissertation topics.)

Dr. Prodromou's year at the Center also included giving lectures in Sacramento and Los Angeles, in which she analyzed the reelection of Andreas Papandreou as prime minister of Greece in 1993 and commented on the evolution of PASOK from the period the party was in power from 1981-1989 through the 1993 election. The Sacramento lecture was co-organized by the World Affairs Council of Sacramento and the Vryonis Center. The Los Angeles lecture was held at Loyola Marymount University and was sponsored by the Hellenic University Club of Southern California.

Dr. Elizabeth Prodromou at the Vryonis Center.

In addition, Dr. Prodromou presented the following papers at conferences during the year: (1) "Setting the Constitutional Framework for Church-State Relations in the Post-Communist Balkans: Some Lessons from the Post-1974 Greek Experience," at the conference "Eastern Orthodoxy in a Post-Communist World," September 1993, in Porto Carras, Halkidiki, Greece. It was organized by the Vryonis Center, the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP) in Athens, and the Institute for Balkan Studies (IMXA) in Thessaloniki, and (2) "Imagining the Balkans: Some Observations on the Formation of a Balkanist Discourse," at the twenty-fifth annual convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, November 1993, in Honolulu, Hawaii.

She was also invited to participate in a panel that was part of a working seminar entitled "Secularization in Europe: the Great Exception?" at the University of Rotterdam in March 1994. The seminar was sponsored by the Amsterdam-based Erasmus Foundation and the European Union. Dr. Prodromou will contribute a chapter, entitled "Getting to Secularity: Religion and Democracy in Southeastern Europe," to an edited volume on the discussions which took place during the panel sessions. The volume will carry the same title as the conference and will be published by the sponsors of the event.

While Dr. Prodromou was at the Vryonis Center, two of her essays were published in scholarly journals: "Toward an Understanding of Eastern Orthodoxy and Democracy-Building in the Post-Cold-War Balkans, *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Spring 1994; and "Church-State Relations Under PASOK: A Tentative Assessment of Orthodoxy, Democracy-Building, and Secular Pluralism in Post-1974 Greece," in Spanish, *Historia y Fuente Oral*, 1993.

During the 1994-1995 academic year, Dr. Prodromou is at Princeton University as a Seeger-Davis Post-Doctoral Fellow in the Program in Hellenic Studies and the Department of Politics, and as a Visiting Fellow at the Center for International Studies.

INTERVIEW WITH DR. NIKOLAY TODOROV

Visiting Scholar Talks About Greek-Bulgarian Relations and His Experiences as Bulgaria's Ambassador to Greece

While Dr. Nikolay Todorov was Bulgaria's ambassador to Greece from 1979 to 1983, he played a significant role in the expanded diplomatic activity between the two countries that opened the way for Balkan multilateral cooperation.

During his tenure as ambassador, Dr. Todorov maintained a diary of his experiences and kept other journals on various aspects of Greek political life. His new book, *The Ambassador as Historian: An Eyewitness Account of Bulgarian-Greek Relations in the 1980s*, is based primarily on these written records and points out the individual contributions of the political figures from both countries that were involved in relations between Bulgaria and Greece during the last decade.

In his book, Dr. Todorov also comments on relations between the two countries in the early 1990s, on the basis of meetings he had in Athens and Sofia in 1990 and 1991 as chairman of Bulgaria's Parliament, the Grand National Assembly.

In the following interview with Newsletter Editor Susan M. Spencer, Dr. Todorov talks about the rapprochement between Greece and Bulgaria which, by the late 1970s, prompted Greek Prime Minister Constantine Karamanlis to compare the significance of Greek-Bulgarian relations within the context of the Balkans to the achievements of Germany and France within the framework of post-war Europe.

Dr. Nikolay Todorov in his apartment in Sacramento.

When was the first breakthrough in the establishment of relations between Greece and Bulgaria following World War II?

It was not until Greek Prime Minister George Papandreou took office in the early 1960s that the normalization of relations between the two countries began. There had been hostility between Greece and Bulgaria in the nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth century. There was also a difference in the countries' social and political systems.

After World War II, Bulgaria had to accept the irrevocability of its frontiers and convince Greece that its decision to accept the status quo would be lasting. It was very difficult to overcome the long historical legacy of tension between the two countries. The process of establishing relations was, therefore, long, with protracted negotiations.

In addition to the diplomatic problems that had to be addressed, about 30 treaties were signed by the government of George Papandreou to deal with issues that had remained unresolved since the war, such as questions concerning the delineation of the border between the two countries, indemnities for the exchange of populations, and reparations paid by Bulgaria as the vanquished side in the war. It was a very solid beginning for establishing bilateral relations.

When I first traveled to Greece in 1957, there was no direct road link between Bulgaria and Greece, so I had to enter Greece through Yugoslavia. However, in the early 1960s, with the relaxation in bilateral relations, a direct road opened between Sofia and Thessaloniki.

What happened to Greek-Bulgarian relations during the military regime in Greece from 1967 to 1974?

The authorities of Greece and Bulgaria did not revoke what George Papandreou had already managed to achieve. But relations were consciously frozen during this period by both countries, without deteriorating further.

How would you characterize relations between Greece and Bulgaria in February 1979 when you became Bulgarian Ambassador to Greece?

I became ambassador to Greece at a moment when the leadership of both countries had decided that relations should be moving forward again. The prime minister of Greece was Constantine Karamanlis, and the president of Bulgaria was Todor Zhivkov. My task was to continue to deepen this process of rapprochement, and I succeeded. It was not an easy task, despite the progress that had been made in relations in the 1960s. It was the good will of the political parties and the political leadership of Greece and Bulgaria which permitted the great strides made in the late 1970s in overcoming the deeply ingrained legacy of hostility between the two countries.

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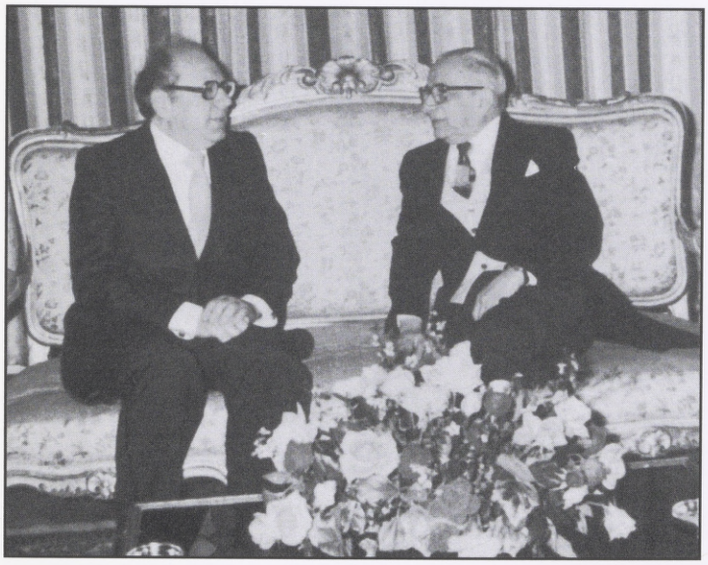
Why do you think the major breakthrough in bilateral relations took place after Karamanlis became prime minister?

The main issue that prompted a breakthrough was the invasion of Cyprus on July 20, 1974. When Karamanlis came to power a few days later, it became clear that Greece had to change its directions and loyalties. Greece pulled out of the military wing of NATO and tried to launch new alliances. The Greek government wanted rapprochement with the Socialist countries, especially Bulgaria, because of its isolation and the fact that it felt forsaken by NATO. It could not blindly rely only on NATO because, in the Turkish-Greek controversy, NATO had backed Turkey. Before Karamanlis became prime minister, he had already met with Zhivkov twice, so he chose Bulgaria for this new redirection of policies. And the Bulgarians immediately answered this quest for a new orientation on the part of Greece.

In addition, Karamanlis and Zhivkov had developed a warm personal relationship. They liked each other and got along very well. The two leaders had similar backgrounds. Both of them were from villages and had risen to their positions from quite humble beginnings. In the book I have just completed, *The Ambassador as Historian: An Eyewitness Account of Bulgarian-Greek Relations in the 1980s*, I comment on their mutual appreciation for their respective backgrounds. When Karamanlis visited Bulgaria, Zhivkov personally took the Greek prime minister to the village where he was born. When Karamanlis visited Zhivkov's house, the Bulgarian president told Karamanlis that he had tended sheep when he was a boy, and Karamanlis replied that he had done the same thing. Karamanlis also looked at the simple kitchenware in the village home and told Zhivkov that he remembered seeing similar utensils in his home in his ancestral village in Greece. In addition to the personal relationship that had developed between the two leaders, there was also strong mutual trust between them.



Dr. Nikolay Todorov, left, with Greek President Constantine Tsatsos at the Presidential Megaron on March 3, 1979, following Dr. Todorov's presentation of his credentials as Bulgaria's new ambassador to Greece.

Dr. Nikolay Todorov, left, meets with Constantine Karamanlis at the Presidential Megaron in 1990, when Karamanlis was president of Greece.

As ambassador to Greece, you said that it was your task to promote the rapprochement between Greece and Bulgaria. How did you approach this task?

I was not certain exactly what I could achieve and on whom I could rely because it was my first diplomatic mission. I had very strong ties in Greece, but most of them were with academics affiliated with the Academy of Athens, the University of Athens, and the University of Thessaloniki. But these circumstances actually opened the way for me because, in Greece, academics very often held political positions and had a very important role to play in government.

In April 1979, two months after I arrived in Greece, a summit meeting between Karamanlis and Zhivkov was held in Corfu. It was expected that this meeting would result in new progress in bilateral relations, but it was not only bilateral relations which were enhanced. For the first time, attention was directed to Karamanlis's idea of Balkan multilateral cooperation to foster peace in the region. This concept was against the interests and beliefs of both the West and the Socialist bloc which did not want to promote such cooperation in the Balkans. This was especially true with regard to the Socialist countries because neither Albania nor Yugoslavia were part of the Warsaw Pact. Rumania, under President Nicolae Ceaucescu, was already moving into a somewhat confrontational mode with the Russians. And, at about that time, the president of China visited Greece and toured Rumania and Yugoslavia.

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The Soviet Union was adamant in its stand that Bulgaria should be firmly in the Warsaw Pact and have no relations which were outside of this alliance. It feared that Bulgaria might succumb to the temptation to go its own way. The Soviets felt that Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Albania, which were going astray, might influence Bulgaria to follow in their path, so Moscow was against Bulgarian participation in any plan for multilateral cooperation in the Balkans.

Vyron Theodoropoulos, the Chief Secretary of the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, came to me during the summit meeting and said that Karamanlis would be extremely disappointed if his proposal for multilateral cooperation could not be included in the Corfu deliberations. But Bulgarian Deputy Foreign Minister Ivan Ganev, who handled Balkan affairs, had said categorically that it would not be discussed at the meeting.

I, therefore, suggested that a compromise be reached which would launch multilateral cooperation in certain sectors, just to achieve a breakthrough, accompanied by very little fanfare. I went to Bulgarian Foreign Minister Petar Mladenov, and he agreed with my proposal. He said that I should talk directly to Zhivkov about it. So I presented all the arguments in favor of the proposal to Zhivkov, and he said that Bulgaria should help Karamanlis in this way.

The first annual multilateral Balkan meeting was held in Turkey, and then the meetings rotated from one Balkan capital to another throughout most of the 1980s. One should not exaggerate the achievements that took place within the framework of these meetings. They were held primarily to foster good will and open the way for cooperation in certain sectors, such as telecommunications and environmental policy. At least the countries were talking. Even Turkey was sitting down with Greece in the context of the inter-Balkan cooperation meetings. It was bringing the countries closer together in a non-political way.

Dr. Nikolay Todorov, right, presents former Prime Minister of Greece Panayiotis Kanellopoulos a document making him an Honorary Member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences in 1983.

It was very clear that the decision to begin multilateral Balkan cooperation, a radical transformation in the relations between the countries of the region, was unexpected. When I returned to Athens, all the Socialist ambassadors came to see me and asked whether the decision had been an individual breakthrough on the part of the Bulgarians or whether it had been agreed upon in cooperation with the Soviets. The ambassadors of Western countries were also very eager to discuss the facts behind this breakthrough with me.

So, in fact, it was the Corfu meeting which immediately involved me in the high strata of politics, something which usually takes an ambassador several months to achieve. In addition, I am a very open person and would meet frequently with many of the other ambassadors in Athens in order to have substantive conversations. I also had many meetings with both Greek President Constantine Tsatsos and with Constantine Karamanlis, while he was prime minister and after he became president in April 1980.

When Socialist Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou was elected in 1981, how did Balkan cooperation evolve?

When Papandreou's Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) rose to power, there was continuity in the development of Balkan relations. In addition, Papandreou always recognized Karamanlis's important contribution to those relations, even after Karamanlis became the president of Greece.

PASOK was a special experiment. The Balkans had never had a tradition of strong social democratic parties, either in the opposition or in power, unlike Western Europe where such parties had been in power, for example, in France, West Germany, Spain, and other countries. I pointed out to Papandreou that he had a historical responsibility with regard to this experiment because it was one that had not been attempted at anytime within the Balkans.

In general, the ambassadors in Greece from Socialist countries, with the exception of the Polish ambassador, had, at the beginning, a negative attitude toward Papandreou and the development of the type of socialism that he was establishing in Greece. This was especially true with respect to the Soviet ambassador. These ambassadors viewed Papandreou's government as an inorganic development. I told them that the PASOK government was a new phenomenon that had to be heeded and respected. Papandreou actually thanked me for breaking the ice with regard to this longstanding prejudice that communists had against social democrats.

By 1981, the volume of trade between Greece and Bulgaria had reached about $200 million. Before that, there had been practically no trade between the two countries. Over 80 percent

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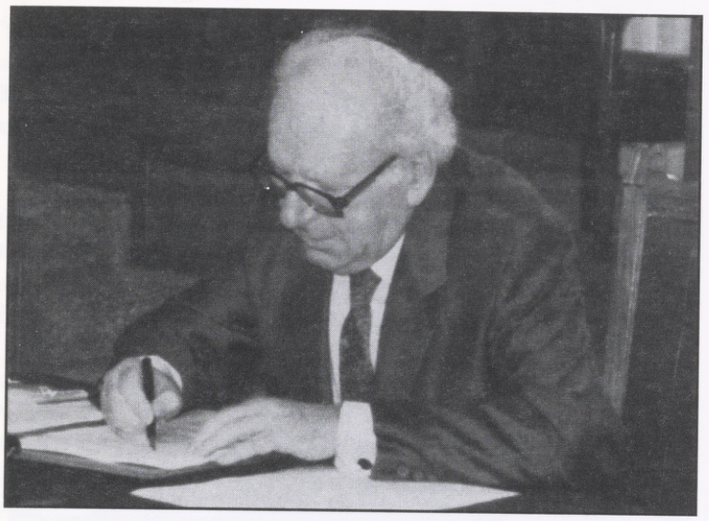

As president of the first democratically-elected Bulgarian Parliament following the collapse of the Warsaw Pact, Dr. Nikolay Todorov signs the country's new constitution on July 12, 1991, inside the parliament chamber.

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of Bulgaria's trade was with the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact. Greece became Bulgaria's largest Western trading partner, and Bulgaria became Greece's largest trading partner in the Warsaw Pact.

Cultural relations were also well underway by the time Andreas Papandreou assumed office. There was a frequent exchange of musical performances—concerts and opera—and the Bulgarian circus appeared in Athens. Tourism between the two countries, which had been practically non-existent before 1979, boomed. The psychological barrier that had limited this tourism had disappeared. Sofia became an especially popular destination for Greeks during the Easter holidays.

The Balkan region has very heavy seismic activity. Seismologists, therefore, would meet to exchange information. In Skopje, an international institute was founded to provide a data base on earthquake information. In addition, conferences were held which focused on medicine, the sea, and water usage.

Bulgaria's attitude toward Greece's entry into the European Community in 1981 was very positive. When Bulgaria and Greece met behind closed doors, their ministers discussed the ways in which Greece's membership could be of advantage to both countries in terms of economic cooperation.

When you visited Greece in 1990-1991 in your capacity as chairman of the Bulgarian Parliament, Constantine Mitsotakis had been elected prime minister. Did Greek-Bulgarian relations continue to develop in a similar vein under Mitsotakis?

From the time I stepped down as ambassador in 1983 until 1989, I visited Greece quite often, but only to promote cultural relations through my UNESCO activities and scholarly endeavors. I was elected to the Bulgarian Parliament in June 1990. I was invited to take part in a conference in Thessaloniki on October 28, 1990 (*Ochi* Day), which was dedicated to the fiftieth anniversary of the Greek-Italian war.

While I was in Greece, I had a meeting with President Karamanlis in which we both affirmed that Greek-Bulgarian relations should be developed even further. Then, I met with Mitsotakis and suggested to him that his first visit to a Balkan country should be to Bulgaria. I managed to convince him to visit Sofia following an oral invitation from Bulgarian Prime Minister Andrei Loukanov, and, as president of the Bulgarian Parliament, I invited him to speak before parliament. This was an unprecedented move because, in the 100 years that the Bulgarian Parliament had existed, no foreign leader had ever addressed it.

What is the focus of your book *The Ambassador as Historian: An Eyewitness Account of Bulgarian-Greek Relations in the 1980s*?

I have tried to show that the strides made through bilateral relations between Greece and Bulgaria must be nurtured so they can be prolonged in a stable manner. It is very difficult to change relations between two countries so dramatically in a way that touches on all spheres of political and cultural life. It would really be a pity if this achievement were lost because it has been accomplished with great effort over a long period of time. This is especially true in the context of the present situation in the Balkans where there is a danger that the conflicts could widen. In the present situation, Greece and Bulgaria can serve as an axis of stability in the Balkans, as the political forces in both countries try to avoid any spilling-over of the conflicts.

Dr. Nikolay Todorov, front row, center, a member of the editorial board of the seven-volume History of Mankind, *published under the auspices of UNESCO, attends a meeting of the twelve-member board in 1988.*

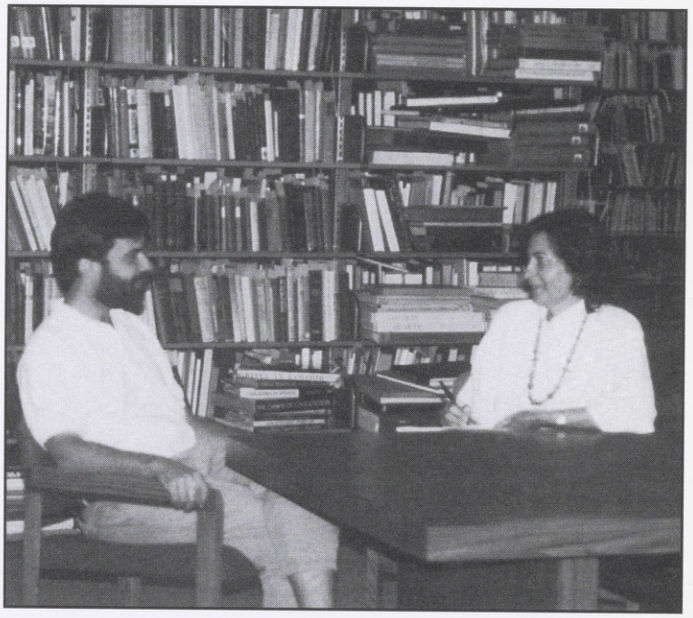
INTERVIEW WITH DR. ALEXANDER KITROEFF

Visiting Scholar Focuses on the Rise of Nationalism in Greece in the Nineteenth Century and the *Megale Idea* (Great Idea)

The vision of a more extensive Greek nation shaped modern Greece's historical evolution from the mid-nineteenth century until the end of the so-called Greek-Turkish War of 1919-1922.

The boundaries formally awarded to Greece by the Great Powers (Britain, France, and Russia), after Greece gained its independence from the Turks in 1830, encompassed only a fraction of the populations that were considered to be of Greek nationality, according to the doctrines of Greek nationalism at the time. This situation prompted calls for a "Greater Greece," one which would enlarge its territory to include all the populations of Greek ethnicity remaining under Ottoman rule. This concept is known as "irredentism" and is synonymous with "nationalism" in Greece between 1844 and 1922. It crystallized in what is known as the *Megale Idea* (Great Idea), a commonly-held belief that modern Greece's historical mission would only be complete when it succeeded in liberating these Greeks.

Before leaving the Vryonis Center last summer, Dr. Alexander Kitroeff talked with Newsletter Editor Susan M. Spencer about the research he had conducted on nineteenth-century Greek nationalism and the *Megale Idea,* as a Vryonis Center Visiting Scholar.



Dr. Alexander Kitroeff and Susan M. Spencer at the Vryonis Center.

How does your approach to the study of nineteenth-century Greek nationalism relate to the work that has already been done on the subject?

The scholarly research on nineteenth-century Greek nationalism can be divided into two major categories.

The first consists of accounts, based on diplomatic history, of the ways Greece sought to pursue irredentist policies designed to achieve the goal of the *Megale Idea* between the time of Greece's independence in 1830 and the year 1922. Significant studies in this field include those by Douglas Dakin, Domna Dontas, Edouard Driault and Michel Lhéritier, Evangelos Kofos, M.T. Laskaris, and Harry J. Psomiades.

The second category of research, which focuses on the emergence and transformation of the *Megale Idea* as an ideology, can loosely be described as belonging to the history of ideas. This approach was pioneered by Greece's foremost intellectual historian, the late Constantine Dimaras. There are many scholars based in Greece who have been influenced by the Dimaras approach.

My own approach tries to go further than the ground covered by diplomatic historians or historians of ideas in their studies of nineteenth-century Greece. I could say that I pursue a middle ground between their approaches. The diplomatic historians concentrate primarily on Greece's pursuit of the *Megale Idea* through its foreign policy. In doing so, they fail to address the reasons why the Greek state chose to—or, at times, chose not to—embark on an irredentist course.

We need to begin questioning the motivation, in terms of domestic dynamics, behind the irredentist policies aimed at bringing about a Greater Greece, rather than simply reducing the study of irredentism to an account of foreign policy. Otherwise, nationalism, or irredentism, becomes an all-powerful "ism" that drives the external relations of the Greek nation, and we may begin to forget that it is prone to manipulation by particular political forces.

While diplomatic historians tend to underplay the domestic political climate, intellectual historians often ignore the political context or merely acknowledge it in passing. Here, I believe, there is also a need to contextualize more rigorously and inquire whether ideas influence policies, or whether policies influence the evolution of ideas. For example, the revival in the interest in Byzantium or Alexander the Great in the 1850s was not part of a general, nebulous process but was intertwined with the particular political circumstances that Greece faced at the time. Again, we are reminded of the crucial role that the domestic political dynamic can play in the formulation of ideas. By the same token, we become aware of the power of ideas, given the right political climate.

In my work, I do not take nationalism, or irredentism, as a "given," but try to judge why and how it was employed by statesmen and intellectuals. I am particularly concerned with the evolution of nationalist ideas in conjunction with political developments and am not interested in these ideas out of context. In that sense, I hope to join a number of scholars who, it seems to me, have sought to build upon the Dimaras model, such as Gerasimos Augustinos, Paschalis M. Kitromilides, Antonis Liakos, Sophia Vouri, and Helle Skopetea.

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You have stressed the importance of taking politics into account when studying nineteenth-century nationalism in the Balkans. Why not emphasize other factors such as the economy or societal issues as well?

Clearly, those factors are also important, but I would argue that the political framework was probably the most crucial factor shaping the history of the nineteenth-century Balkans and perhaps the history of all of nineteenth-century Eastern Europe.

Politics was important in the independent nations that emerged in the Balkans at that time because the state sector was very large, much larger than that of most Western European states. This situation occurred because the local entrepreneurial class was very small, either virtually non-existent in the first place, or displaced, having moved abroad where the entrepreneurs became part of diaspora trading networks. Therefore, the state, itself, had to initiate economic development. Its slow initiatives in promoting this development, coupled with the lack of other economic opportunities, made employment by the state or the acquisition of various types of state benefits the best way for many people to achieve upward social mobility. Access to employment and benefits from the state were achieved via politicians, so politics was tremendously important.

Travelers in the Greek provinces in the second half of the nineteenth century observed that the Greeks were interested in reading days-old newspapers arriving from Athens. They interpreted this phenomenon to be a reflection of a Greek "passion" for politics. People say this about present-day Greece as well. Such a passion undoubtedly exists in Greece today, but it is the effect, not the cause, of politicization. Interest in politics is sustained because the enormous state sector has a finger in every pie. To cut through the red tape, you have to get things done through politicians. A large state infrastructure, a function also of the popularity of the Prussian government model in the Balkans in the late nineteenth century, makes politics crucial in any Balkan society today.

How did political developments and nationalism interact in the Balkans during the nineteenth century?

The nineteenth-century Balkan state, like all modern nation states, derived its legitimacy from being the political embodiment of the nation. The process of European state-building had involved the appropriation of the idea of the nation by political elites as a way of creating the type of political and cultural cohesiveness and homogeneity that would help a newly-formed secular state establish its authority and gain broad acceptance.

The type of nationalism that the Balkan states adopted had to do with the realities existing in the Balkan peninsula in the mid-nineteenth century. Small, insecure nation-states were being carved out of the Ottoman Empire against its wishes as it strenuously attempted to block secession and nation-building. The territory that these nation-states encompassed incorporated only a small part of the populations and lands that each of the Balkan nationalist movements claimed as their own. These conditions were the prerequisite for the emergence of a brand of nationalism that stressed the cultural unity of a particular Balkan people across territories and called for the unification of the populations within these small states with their co-nationals still remaining under Ottoman rule.

Other factors that contributed to making the pursuit of the "greater nation" a priority in the Balkans were the advantages of shifting attention away from domestic problems and toward grandiose visions. This cultural type of nationalism and the irredentist policies it entailed also bolstered national pride and morale at a time when the Balkan people were striving to cut loose from the Ottoman Empire and gain respect from Europe, but were confronted with suspicion and prejudice by the Great Powers which did not hesitate to interfere in Balkan internal affairs.

I should add that the cultural nationalism, or irredentism, which was personified in the Balkans by the visions of a "Greater Greece," a "Greater Serbia," and so on was reflected

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View of the center of Athens in 1860 taken from the northeast. On the right is the Royal Palace which faces Syntagma (Constitution) Square. The hill named Lykavittos rises behind the Grande Bretagne Hotel in the center, also facing Syntagma Square.

Ioannis Kapodistrias, the first Greek head of state (1828-1831), who was appointed by the Great Powers (Britain, France, and Russia), and approved by the Greek National Assembly. Illustration from Elias Tzanetes, He Philike Hetaireia kai to patriotikon drama: martyres kai ekdiketai *(The* Philike Hetaireia *and the Patriotic Drama: Martyrs and Avengers), 1928.*

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elsewhere in Europe where nation states were being carved out of multiethnic empires. Hungary, for example, is also a country with a history of irredentism, and, ultimately, the process of borrowing cultural nationalism from Romanticist thought occurred in the rest of Eastern Europe.

There were no other widely-held political values in the nineteenth century—with the exception of a broad commitment to introducing democratic constitutions—that could seriously compete with the appeal of nationalism. Political ideologies such as liberalism or radicalism were too weak to take hold, and projects such as economic modernization evolved only toward the end of the century. Irredentism, therefore, became something akin to the dominant political metaphor in the Balkans.

Where does your study begin?

Apart from a background chapter on politics and nationalism during the revolutionary and post-revolutionary era in Greece (1821 to 1833), my study focuses on the first time the idea of the greater nation, the *Megale Idea*, is elucidated upon in the context of the domestic politics of Greece. By all accounts, the defining moment came when Ioannis Kolettis, the first elected prime minister of Greece (1844-1847), took the floor in the national assembly in 1844 during a discussion of Greece's first constitution. My study first discusses the context in which Kolettis's now-famous speech was delivered and what it meant at the time. It then proceeds chronologically as it traces the way in which irredentism became predominant in Greece in the 1840s and 1850s, and explores the difficulties that the pursuit of the *Megale Idea* ran into in the 1860s and 1870s. By that time, the *Megale Idea* had become as much of a liability as it was an advantage to the politicians who put themselves forward as its standard-bearers.

What difficulties were encountered through the pursuit of the *Megale Idea* by the 1870s and what happened to the concept at that point?

There was an anti-Ottoman uprising in Crete from 1866 to 1869 which tested the ability of the Greek political establishment to stand by its word and fight for the liberation of the Greeks under Ottoman domination. The problem was that Greece's finances were already low and, more importantly, the government was unable to move effectively because its actions were being blocked by the Great Powers.

The collapse of the Cretan uprising and Greece's inability to be of any significant assistance produced a crisis of legitimacy in Athens which threatened to topple King George I. In 1863, he had replaced the unpopular King Othon who ruled Greece from 1833 to 1862. As soon as the political establishment thought it had successfully weathered the political storm, there was a string of anti-Ottoman uprisings in the Balkans in the mid-1870s that created a dilemma for Greece. The Greek government was uncertain whether it should also attack the Ottomans, or whether it should hold back as the Great Powers wanted it to do, offering the prospect of future territorial awards.

Meanwhile, the political changes that had led to the ouster of King Othon had also brought about a political democratization and an opening up of public debate in Greece. This led to more diversity in the ways people thought the *Megale Idea* could be implemented, and "revisionist" views began to emerge. The long-term effects of this political and intellectual ferment were apparent in the 1880s when Greece was ruled by Harilaos Trikoupis. Trikoupis did not spurn the *Megale Idea*, but he followed moderate policies, emphasizing good relations with the Great Powers and the pursuit of domestic modernization as prerequisites for achieving a "Greater Greece."

How did the struggle over Ottoman-held Macedonia by Greece, Bulgaria, and Serbia in the 1890s affect the relationship between politics and nationalism in Greece?

By the time this struggle erupted in the 1890s, Trikoupis was on the way out. Greece's economy had collapsed under his ambitious modernization program and the unfavorable international conditions at the time. His rival, Theodoros

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Deliyannis, a militant irredentist, became the prime minister of Greece in 1895, as anti-Ottoman unrest was on the rise once again in Crete.

Deliyannis, as a way of supporting the Cretans, launched the Graeco-Turkish War of 1897 that ended in Greece's defeat. That war, I believe, was "the last hurrah" of militant irredentism. A serious political crisis followed in Greece, and there were increasing calls for efficient government. Irredentism was unhinged from its prominent position.

Even when the full-scale armed struggle over Ottoman-held Macedonia began in 1903, Greece proceeded with care and prudence, not committing its own troops, but supporting covert activities. On the advice of Constantinos Paparigopoulos, the Greek historian and nationalist ideologue, Greece focused its educational and military activities on the south and central zones of Macedonia. The stalemate over Ottoman-held Macedonia, which had developed by 1908, only increased calls for a new political order in Greece with an emphasis on efficient governance. This was the context in which a reformist military coup in Athens in 1909 paved the way for Eleftherios Venizelos to come to power as prime minister the following year.

The fact that the old dominant political metaphor, irredentism, had been partially displaced by a new one—efficient governance—was reflected in the way Greece entered the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913 on the side of its rivals, Serbia and Bulgaria, against the Ottomans. Even though the alliance broke down and Greece clashed with Bulgaria, Greece's behavior in these wars contrasted sharply to past conflicts. Alliances were more carefully entered into, and territorial claims were made more pragmatically, taking into account the military and ethnological balance in the region.

Ioannis Kolettis, the first elected prime minister (1844-1847) of the independent Greek state, following the Greek Revolution.

King Othon, a Bavarian prince who became the first king of Greece in 1833 and was ousted in 1862. Illustration from George Cochrane, Wanderings in Greece, *London: Henry Colburn, Publisher, 1837.*

So the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913 were a turning point of sorts in the relationship between politics and nationalism?

Yes, I think that such a case can be made strongly. Of course, the Balkan Wars have been considered either positively by Balkan nationalists, because they represented the final major setback suffered by Ottoman rule in the region, or negatively by Western observers who have been horrified by the carnage that the wars involved.

I believe that Greece and the other Balkan nations entered the Balkan Wars in a much more sober spirit than that which had inspired the earlier visions of a "greater nation." The victory of these countries over the Ottomans in 1913 can largely be attributed to their collaboration in the first Balkan War in 1912 and the attitude of the Great Powers which chose not to defend the Ottoman Empire. There is no doubt that there were many civilian massacres, especially in the second Balkan War of 1913 that pitted Greece and Serbia against Bulgaria. But this does not disqualify one from suggesting that the events leading up to these wars indicate that the respective Balkan states were attempting to combine nationalist aspirations with pragmatic goals. By the end of the Balkan Wars, nationalist goals were being pursued in a more pragmatic manner.

INTERVIEW WITH DR. ELIZABETH PRODROMOU

Visiting Scholar Explores Church-State Relations in Greece Under the Governments of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) in the 1980s

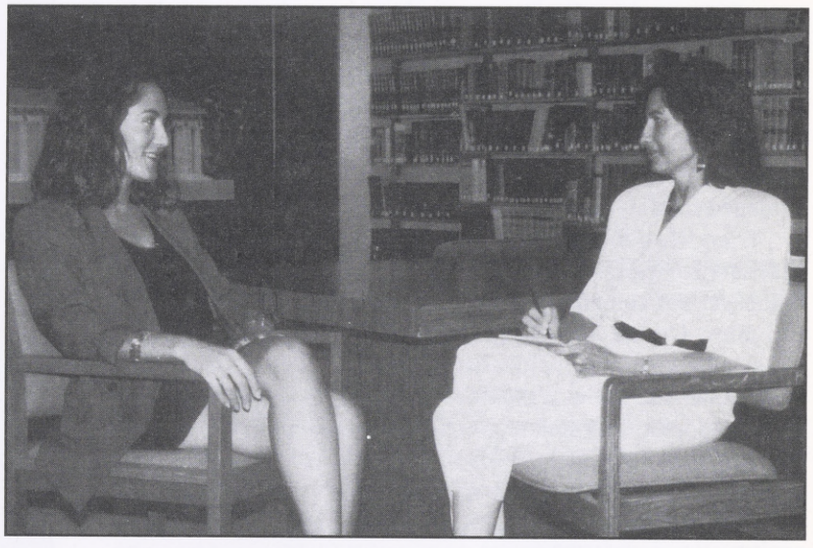
Greece, a country with a long Eastern Orthodox history, has completed its second full decade of democracy following the fall of the seven-year junta in 1974. The country is, therefore, unique since most of the other Orthodox societies were until recently under Communist rule in the former East bloc.

One of the questions related to democracy-building which has emerged in the former totalitarian societies of East-Central and South-Eastern Europe concerns the role of Eastern Orthodoxy in public life. Greece, where Orthodoxy and democracy have coexisted, can serve as a model for analysis of this question and can be a point of departure for a comparative study of the role of the Eastern Orthodox Church in attempts to establish pluralist societies in Russia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Serbia, and Albania.

This issue has been the focus of Dr. Elizabeth Prodromou's research as a Vryonis Center Visiting Scholar. In writing a monograph based on this research, entitled "Democracy and Eastern Christianity in the 'Other Europe:' An Essay on Methodological and Theoretical Responsibility," she has drawn on theoretical questions from her dissertation "Democracy, Religion, and Identity in Socialist Greece: Church-State Relations Under PASOK, 1981-1989."

In her monograph, Dr. Prodromou challenges the view that Orthodoxy and democracy are not compatible, a view which is emerging in scholarly literature in the social sciences in the United States. She points out the problems which may develop in the establishment of democracy in the former totalitarian societies of the East bloc if such a view dictates the way in which policymakers in the United States and the European Union deal with societies that have an Eastern Orthodox tradition.

An important aspect of her research has been an analysis of attempts to "democratize" the Orthodox Church, both in Greece and in the former East bloc countries, by expanding the role of the laity and clergy in church life, rather than continuing to centralize power in the hands of the hierarchy—the metropolitans and bishops.



Dr. Elizabeth Prodromou and Newsletter Editor Susan M. Spencer in the Vryonis Center Library.

In her dissertation, Dr. Prodromou examines the call for reform in relations between the Greek state and the Orthodox Church of Greece by the governments of Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou's Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) from 1981 to 1989, which included attempts to implement a constitutional separation of church and state, as well as proposals for democratizing the Church.

The research for her dissertation included extensive interviews with members of the Greek Orthodox hierarchy, Greek lay theologians and other academics, and members of the cabinet under PASOK. In addition, she studied PASOK party documents, including the archives of the late Antonis Tritsis who served as Minister of Education and Religious Affairs during PASOK's second term.

In the following interview, Dr. Prodromou discusses her dissertation topic with Vryonis Center Newsletter Editor Susan M. Spencer.

Why did you choose the PASOK government's attempt to reform church-state relations as your dissertation topic?

I believe the topic is part of a general issue of global importance. We see the worldwide resurgence of religion in public life every day in the news—in the industrialized societies of the United States, France, and the United Kingdom; in developing countries in Latin America, the Middle East, and the Far East; and in the former Soviet bloc societies. This resurgence of religion is taking a variety of forms and can either be a factor for social cohesion or, unfortunately, a source of social fragmentation, as we are seeing in some of the Balkan states and even in the U.S. with the debates over abortion and prayer in the public schools. I have viewed the dialogue on church-state relations in Greece as an interesting yet little-studied illustration of this general trend of the resurgence of religion in public life.

Scholars have done relatively little work on the role of the Greek Orthodox Church in public life in Greece. The work that has been done is based, I believe, on stereotypes rather than on empirical research. Therefore, a motivation in choosing this topic was to move beyond these stereotypes by examining factors such as factional conflict within the Church, discord between groups within the Church and the Greek state, and the effect of Orthodoxy on the development of culture and national identity in Greece.

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When did PASOK first bring up the issue of reforming church-state relations in Greece?

PASOK initially raised the topic during the 1974-1975 debates that were part of the writing and passing of a democratic constitution which was to replace the one imposed by the authoritarian regime from 1967 to 1974. The new constitution was ratified in 1975.

Under the colonels' regime, the Greek people had viewed the state as having coopted the Church. The Church was seen as having cooperated with the junta. The slogan used by the junta, *Ellas Ellenon Christianon* (a Greece of Christian Greeks), contributed to this perceived cooperation between the Church and the right-wing government, so the Church had a serious credibility problem following the dictatorship.

During the constitutional debates, PASOK called for the socialization of Church properties. The party also argued that, in order to build a modern society, the country needed a complete administrative separation of church and state, which should be formally specified in the constitution. However, and this is very important because it was a portent of things to come in the 1980s, the party emphasized repeatedly that the separation of church and state in no way implied the separation of church and nation, but would, in fact, strengthen the church-nation ties. In addition, PASOK stressed that Orthodoxy was an integral element of Greek culture, that it would not be possible to understand the significance of belonging to the Greek nation without knowing what it meant to be Orthodox.

Up until 1975, the Greek constitution referred to the Orthodox Church as the "state church" (*nomo kratousa ekklesia*) of Greece. As a result of the constitutional debates, a compromise was reached which changed the Church's status to that of the "established church" (*epikratousa ekklesia*) of the country in the new constitution that went into effect in 1975. This change did not signify the separation of church and state that PASOK had sought, but it was a loosening of the constitutional bond between church and state. In practical terms, it meant that Orthodoxy was not the religion of the Greek state, but that it was the religion of the overwhelming majority of the Greek people.

Although the distinction between "state church" and "established church" may seem quite arcane, in fact, it signified more than a semantic shift because it had implications regarding the manner in which religion did or did not affect the rights of citizenship in Greece. The new formulation basically recognizes that membership in a state church, i.e., the Orthodox Church, is not a requirement for Greek citizenship. It also suggests that the links between ethnicity (Greekness) and religion (Orthodoxy) are cultural. The change in definition was, therefore, important insofar as it was a step toward acknowledging the historical and cultural centrality of Orthodoxy to Greek identity, while simultaneously placing that acknowledgement in a legal context designed to consolidate democracy.

In the late 1970s, the relationship between church and state was also briefly touched upon by the ruling New Democracy Party. But, in 1980, with the change in the New Democracy leadership from Constantine Karamanlis to George Rallis, the party anticipated an uncertain electoral climate the following year. It feared that a discussion of church-state issues would result in negative political fallout, so it put the issues aside. New Democracy did indeed lose the 1981 election to PASOK.

How did the issue of church-state relations evolve under the PASOK governments from 1981 to 1989?

PASOK came into office articulating its peculiar dualist policy of calling for the constitutional separation of church and state, on the one hand, and the reinforcement of the church-nation ties, on the other. This dualism reflected the party's attempt to create a "third way" for Greek politics, one that aspired to building a modern society that did not imitate Western models. The party felt that modernizing and democratizing had to be done in a way that respected Greece's national historical experience, incorporating the Orthodox or Eastern dimension of Greek culture.

In addition, PASOK continued its campaign for the socialization of Church properties, which prompted public

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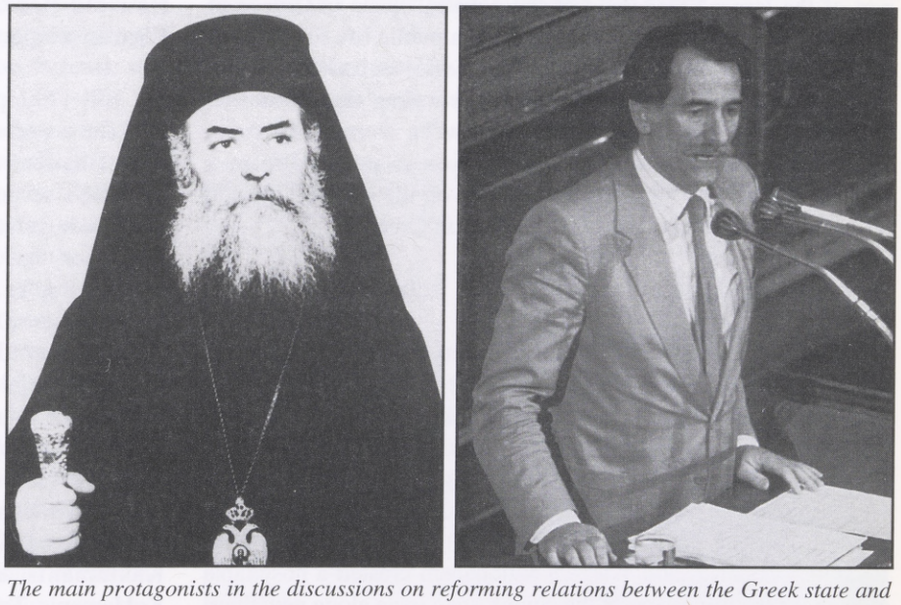

The main protagonists in the discussions on reforming relations between the Greek state and the Orthodox Church of Greece, and on democratizing the Church during the PASOK governments of the 1980s: Archbishop Seraphim of Athens and All Greece, who has been Archbishop since 1973 (left), and the late Antonis Tritsis, Minister of Education and Religious Affairs under PASOK, speaking in the Greek Parliament.

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announcements of concern by the Holy Synod. With increasing intensity, as PASOK's first term unfolded, the Church expressed its fears that a "socialist" government was trying to interfere in Church affairs.

During PASOK's first term in office, it made bold revisions in Greek family law, including the decriminalization of adultery, legalization of abortion, and equalization of the rights of women through a variety of legislative changes. In late 1982, civil marriage was legalized. PASOK first proposed that all Greeks would have to be married in a civil ceremony. Couples could also have a church wedding, but the only marriage that would be legal would be the civil ceremony. The hierarchy of the Church reacted to this proposal, primarily behind the scenes, by making its dissatisfaction known to PASOK through the Church's access to the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs and through the government's special advisor to the Church.

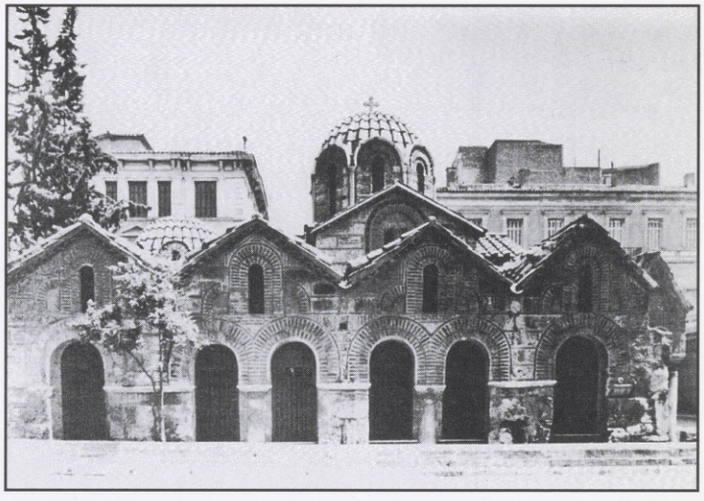
The story of the legalization of civil marriage is indicative of the kinds of compromises that the PASOK government would later make with the Church. Rather than the original proposal that would have made civil marriage the only recognized rite, while the ecclesiastical marriage would have been a personal option, PASOK gave in to Church pressure. The government passed legislation that made both ceremonies of equal legal validity, thereby keeping the religious ceremony—and, by extension, the Church—on equal legal footing with the civil ceremony—and, by extension, the state.

It is worth mentioning that it was not by chance that the church-state issue erupted following PASOK's birth in Greek politics in 1974 during the transition to democracy. The legalization of socialist and communist parties at that time was part of the larger broadening of the political space in Greece to allow groups that had been excluded from public life for decades to participate in the political process. It was logical that issues that had been put on the back burner for a long time would be addressed, such as the relationship between church and state, and, more generally, the role of religion in public life in a modern democracy, since the main issue on the political agenda was how to build a successful democracy in Greece.

Were these issues talked about before the 1970s?

Revisions in the relationship between church and state had always been part of the political agenda, but they had never been discussed as comprehensively as they were by PASOK, nor had they been discussed in the context of making democracy work in Greece. I do not mean to suggest that religious issues were at the forefront of PASOK's political agenda. I am simply pointing out that the overall conditions of democratization, coupled with PASOK's populist, anti-Western nationalism created a hospitable climate for the discussion of the church-state issue along new lines.

Indeed, the reform of church-state relations has been a political football in Greece since the founding of the nation-state in the nineteenth century. Greek statemakers have consistently



Kapnikarea Greek Orthodox Church in downtown Athens, built about 1060-1070.

shied away from open conflicts with the Church because of a perception that the political (electoral) costs might outweigh any potential advantages. Therefore, the Greek public is largely unaware of the friction between the Orthodox Church and successive Greek governments of all ideological persuasions.

The current relationship between church and state in Greece, for the most part, is the one that was set up in the nineteenth century by the Bavarian regency along German lines. This relationship was designed to minimize the power of the Church, making it unable to compete with the state as a source of power in society.

How did PASOK approach the issue of the socialization of Church properties?

Bill 1700, proposing the socialization of Church properties, and the even more controversial democratization of the ecclesiastical administration, was drafted in 1986 during PASOK's second term in office. Some of the provisions of the bill, those relating to Church properties, had their origins in legislation that had been written by the New Democracy Party when it was in power in the 1970s. This is an interesting point because New Democracy publicly attacked PASOK when Bill 1700 was introduced in parliament and discussed in the press.

The legislation was drafted by representatives of the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, two metropolitans, and lay theologians at the university and secondary school levels. These hierarchs and lay theologians had responded to a direct invitation to participate in the legislative process, first by Minister of Education and Religious Affairs Apostolos Kaklamanis, and then by Antonis Tritsis, who succeeded Kaklamanis. Tritsis was the real catalyst for what became quite a unique cooperative effort between certain politicians and certain reformist elements (ordained and lay) in the Church.

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The bill initially called for state expropriation of monastic agricultural properties outside of Athens and was later expanded to include the Church's enormous amount of urban real estate. The legislation stipulated that all of the institutional machinery that had existed up to that point to regulate Church properties would be restructured. Joint committees would be set up that would include both lay and ordained members of the Church, as well as elected public officials who would serve as representatives of the Greek state. The committees would be endowed with the responsibility of dispensing with the properties in ways that would generate income for the Church, making it economically autonomous and less dependent financially on the state.

Some of the properties which were not being cultivated were to be sold to agricultural cooperatives that had been set up by PASOK. The cooperatives would be expected to give a certain percentage of the proceeds resulting from the cultivation of these properties to the Church.

Which proposals concerning the democratization of the Church were addressed by Bill 1700?

The most important feature of the bill, which caused a great deal of controversy, was the proposal to democratize the organizational structure of the Church. The significant feature of this proposal was the party's call for the reinstitutionalization of the system that had existed during the early centuries of the Church's existence, whereby laymen participated in the election of the clergy and hierarchs. There is a historical and canonical basis for such a practice—*psiphos klyro-laou*. It involves a committee structure made up of elected members of the lay population of the community, in addition to clergy and bishops. Such committees occur at the parish level, the diocese level, and the metropolitan level.

The consequence of this proposed restructuring would be that the decision-making control which was centralized in the hands of the hierarchy would be diffused and dispersed. And the lay voice and the clerical voice in the Church which had been almost completely marginalized in Greece—especially the lay voice—would be revitalized. In the bill, the type of democratization envisaged was reflected in the proposal to set up committees of lay and ordained members of the Church, as well as public officials, to handle the administration and dispensation of Church property.

Over the long-term, the bill was really aimed at establishing the constitutional separation of church and state. The democratization of the Church was actually seen as the first step toward church-state separation. PASOK's argument, which had been further delineated since the party raised the issue of church-state separation in the 1975 constitutional debates, was that Orthodoxy would be perpetually compromised by the existing constitutional relationship between church and state since it allowed the state to interfere regularly in the internal organization of the Church and enabled it to undermine the Church economically to make it more dependent on the state. In addition, PASOK said, a politically autonomous, economically self-sufficient Church could function dynamically in Greek society as a source of support for democracy, rather than as a conservatizing influence on sociopolitical developments.

How did the Holy Synod react when Bill 1700 was introduced in the Greek Parliament?

The Synod reacted strongly against the bill. But, in its public statements about the bill, the Synod ignored the democratization article, which was a smart tactical maneuver. Instead, the Synod focused on the property provisions of the proposed legislation.

The Synod maintained that, according to the Greek constitution, the state had no right to interfere in the internal life of the Church, an interpretation that was in direct contrast to PASOK's interpretation of the relationship between church and state in the Constitution. The Synod also said that the bill was a direct attack by the socialist government and the Greek state on the "conscience" of the Greek nation, that is the Orthodox Church, and that the Church was under siege.

The Synod astutely avoided any mention of the fact that members of the Church (understood here in the Orthodox sense of the word to include laity, clergy, and hierarchy) had actually participated in drafting the bill because these members felt that the marginalization of the Orthodox Church in public life was due to the overwhelming concentration of powers in the Synod.

How did the Greek press interpret Bill 1700?

The press also framed the debate on Bill 1700 solely in terms of the property issue and practically ignored the provisions

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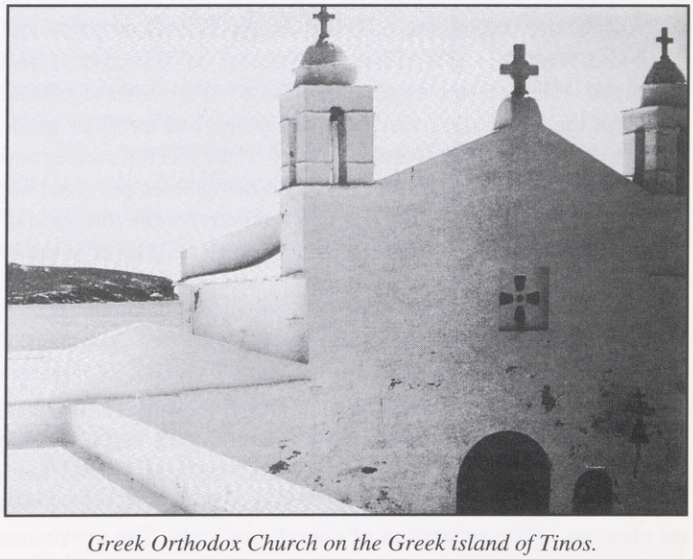

Greek Orthodox Church on the Greek island of Tinos.

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for democratization. The Greek newspaper *To Vema* did publish a summary of the articles of the bill, and it did emphasize that the bill was about the democratization of the Church. But those kinds of articles were few and far between, and, unfortunately, the press perpetuated the state of confusion over the bill.

The New Democracy Party joined the media in interpreting the bill in the same terms that the Synod did. This helped the New Democracy Party politically because it made it appear as if the socialist government was trying to interfere in every aspect of civil society and in the internal affairs of the Church.

To this day, I have not received a satisfactory answer from anyone who participated in the preparation of the bill to explain the reason why the PASOK government and the lay theologians who backed it did not make it clear to the press and the Greek public that the bill was really about the democratization of the Church, and, over the long term, about the constitutional separation of church and state.

In the literature that has been written by some of the people involved in the bill, and in the interviews that I have had with them, they have all said that the failure to stress the fact that the essence of the bill was the democratization of the Church was a tactical mistake. It is not clear why Antonis Tritsis, in whom most of the players had confidence, did not publicize it in that manner. Tritsis, himself, was quite vague on this point in an interview.

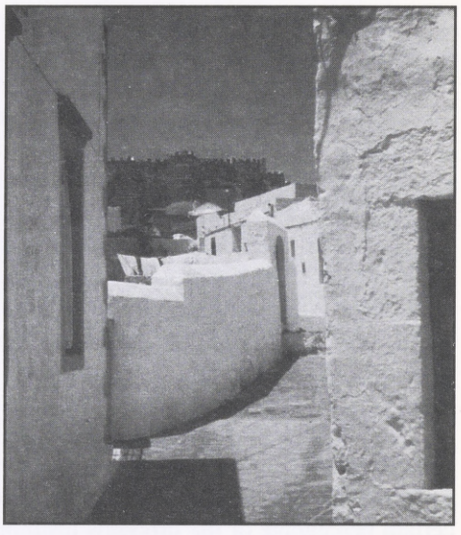
How did Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou react to the controversy that was developing over Bill 1700?

From the beginning, Papandreou had agreed with the course of action outlined in the bill as it was explained to him by Tritsis. However, enormous factional struggles had begun within PASOK and Papandreou had become increasingly occupied with party problems. Suddenly, he realized that a thorny controversy concerning church-state relations was underway.

Papandreou then pressured Tritsis to take the articles on democratization out of the bill, but Tritsis refused to do so and resigned from his position as Minister of Education and Religious Affairs at the beginning of 1987. Papandreou refused to accept the resignation which, at that point, had not been made public. A few months later, in May 1987, Tritsis resigned publicly and formally. He not only left his cabinet position, but he also left the party. His move was important for the direction of the party because it signaled the climax of an exodus of some of the most radical members of the party.

In what form did Bill 1700 finally emerge?

The bill was passed into law in late 1987, but its final text was very different from the original draft which had created a huge brouhaha. The provision on democratization had been removed, so the law was essentially emasculated, and there was no mention of the separation of church and state. The provisions on ecclesiastical property had been rewritten in such a way that it would take a great deal of coordination to implement them. In fact, nothing has changed to this day with regard to the status of Church properties, and the issue of church-state separation is one that remains open and highly contentious in Greece.



View of a street in the town of Chora on the Greek island of Patmos, with the fortified wall of the Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, founded in 1088, in the background. It was on Patmos that Saint John the Theologian wrote the Revelation.

The bill was basically an agreement between the senior levels of the state and the senior levels of the Church, i.e., Papandreou, an advisor to both the prime minister and the archbishop, and the archbishop and members of the Holy Synod. Both the bill and the discussions surrounding it excluded the clergy and the laity, both of whom knew very little about the real essence of the conflict.

What was the Greek popular perception of the debate over church-state relations?

The public saw the debate solely as an attempt by PASOK to take property from the Church. Some people were supportive of it and some were not.

When I conducted the research for my dissertation, most of the people I talked to from the Greek public between the ages of 18 and 36 said that the Church was always going to be part of Greek politics. There was a persistent feeling that Orthodoxy is an essential part of Greek culture, that Orthodoxy and Greekness are two sides of the same coin. And what you see today in the Greek press are extensive discussions about the role of Orthodoxy in Greek culture, in democratic pluralism, and in Greek nationalism.

Greeks do not think of Orthodoxy primarily in faith terms; they think of it in cultural terms. Since the family law bill was passed in 1982, the percentage of civil marriages in Greece has never risen above five percent of total marriages. Most people think of marriage as a cultural celebration that must occur in the Church. Interfaith marriages between Orthodox Christians and non-Christians make up the overwhelming majority of the civil ceremonies in Greece.

THE SENSE OF "GREEKNESS" IN LITERATURE AND THE ARTS AMONG DIASPORA GREEKS

The topic "The Sense of 'Greekness' in Literature and the Arts Among Diaspora Greeks" was covered by one of the panels at the conference on "Greeks in English-Speaking Countries: Culture, Identity, Politics," from May 12-14, 1994, in Sacramento. Below are summaries of two of the conference papers delivered on this topic. (See pages 5-17 for more information on the conference.)

THE GREEK SPIRIT AND ITS JOURNEY WITH DRAMA AND DANCE INTO THE DIASPORA

by Prof. Andonia Cakouros

Andonia Cakouros has been Professor of Theater Arts at California State University, Sacramento (CSUS), since 1977. She is an actor, singer, choreographer, and director, and was one of the narrators of a San Francisco tribute to the late Greek actress and politician Melina Mercouri last spring. Prof. Cakouros was born in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, and completed an M.A. in Theater Arts and other post-graduate work at Northwestern University in Illinois. In 1986, she was granted the equivalency of a doctorate by CSUS. As a child of Greek parents who emigrated to the United States from villages near Sparta, Prof. Cakouros talks about the role that drama and dance have played in her search for her own identity as a Greek in the diaspora.

The Greek spirit, whether in ancient Greece, modern Greece, or in the diaspora, has the same soul identity, beckoning and empowering the searching Greek in the journey from "barbarism" through "sight" to "knowledge."

Drama and dance as the physical expressions of this boundless spirit have helped carry it from ancient Greece into the diaspora.

Dance held an important place in early Greek religion and education, and in daily life. To a Greek, the word *orcheisthai* had a much broader significance than does the corresponding English word "to dance." The word was used to denote myriad rhythmical movements—of the feet, hands, head, eyes, as well as the body as a whole. A Greek could dance without moving his feet. He could, like a native of Samoa and other lands today, dance in a sitting position, states Lillian Lawler in the book *The Dance in Ancient Greece*.

Greek actress Melina Mercouri as Katerina in the film "He Who Must Die" (1956), based on the book The Greek Passion *by Nikos Kazantzakis.*

The ancient Greek could translate, and not always metaphorically, the rhythmic movements of animals—fish and birds—as well as trees, flowers in the wind, rivers, and boats on water, according to Ms. Lawler.

In the mind of the Greeks, the dance of human beings was not an art which was complete in itself. They associated it inseparably with music, and, in addition, it was customarily associated with verse.

In this way, the Greeks created what they called *cheironomia*, a system of gestures and symbolic movements. They called this art *mousike*, the "art of the muses." In its broadest sense, it signified the entire education of the mind, the very essence of civilization.

There were dances of men in honor of Dionysos, as god of fertility and wine. Outstanding among these was the dithyramb, a song-and-dance performance. Aristotle says that tragedy originated with improvisations of the "leaders of the dithyrambs."

Drama is concerned with the individuality of human experience. The individual, the "artist," is responsible for the personal as well as the collective journey. This personal striving to externalize and communicate the search for soul, for the enlightenment of mankind, is the essence of culture.

With this view of drama and dance in mind, consider Melina Mercouri as the embodiment of the concept of the Greek

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THE SENSE OF "GREEKNESS" IN LITERATURE AND THE ARTS AMONG DIASPORA GREEKS

Prof. Andonia Cakouros (center) rehearses the role of Agave in Euripides' "Bacchae" in Sacramento, in 1980. The women of the chorus are behind her, and Greek director Takis Mouzenidis (right) directs her.

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spirit and its journey into the diaspora. She was an artist first, but, in 1977, she was elected to the Greek parliament, and, in 1981, she was named Minister of Culture.

Her spirit is revealed in her dancing eyes, her mouth, and the gestures she used which were so evocative of the "dance" of the ancient Greeks. This woman could dance sitting down. She was and is the "spirit of Hellas."

In 1971, while she was in exile in the United States and Europe during the military regime in Greece, Melina Mercouri wrote her autobiography, *I Was Born Greek*. In the book, Ms. Mercouri says, "The film 'Never on Sunday' [1960] was an international success. It gave me a name and it was nominated for five Oscars, but the deepest satisfaction was that it stimulated hundreds of thousands of people to visit Greece."

On April 21, 1967, when the military coup occurred, Ms. Mercouri was performing in "Ilya Darling" on Broadway. In her book, she describes the torment she felt as she went on stage night after night after the coup. Following numerous requests for her to appear on radio and television, or give interviews to the print media, Ms. Mercouri said, "I had become a spokesman for all the Greeks who were unable to speak. The responsibility became a heavy one."

Having spent the last month studying Ms. Mercouri, I believe that it is this image of Melina singing the song of Greece throughout the world that resonates most powerfully. Her voice and life are truly metaphorical for the journey of the Greek spirit from the ancient Greeks to the modern Greeks, from Greece itself into the diaspora.

My own journey as a searching Greek soul began in early childhood. Every Sunday, with my beloved grandfather, Papou—our patriarch—heading the dance, we circled the dining room table. I can still feel the hands of my parents, my sister Argie, and my brother Dennis held in communal union. My sister and I would dance for hours, especially after we returned from a summer trip to the villages near Sparta where my mother and father were born. I was 17 and my sister was 19 when we truly awakened to the depths of our very being, our "Greekness."

The Church, as with most diaspora Greeks, was the center of our Greek education. It was where we learned the language while singing the liturgy and socializing. It was not only the place where I learned to dance, but it was also where I first acted in a play.

My first opportunity to work with a Greek master director came in 1980, when I coproduced Euripides' "Bacchae" at CSUS. I also did the choreography for the tragedy and played the role of Agave. The work was directed by the well-known Greek director, the late Takis Mouzenidis, who had been the senior director of the National Theater in Athens for 20 years. He was Ms. Mercouri's first drama teacher. His direction of "Bacchae" in the United States was part of his mission to bring the message and style of Greek drama to the diaspora, having visited 23 American universities as director or lecturer over the previous decade.

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Robert Kip and Prof. Andonia Cakouros perform the roles of Greek author Nikos Kazantzakis and his wife Eleni Kazantzakis in the play "Man of Crete," by Michael Antonakes, in San Francisco, in 1984.

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In 1984, a play about Greek author Nikos Kazantzakis entitled "Man of Crete," by Michael Antonakes, was presented by the Center for Modern Greek Studies, headed by Prof. Thanasis Maskaleris, at San Francisco State University. The play, which was directed by the San Francisco-based Greek-American director George Marchi, was also performed in Sacramento. I played the role of Eleni, Kazantzakis's wife. I met Mrs. Kazantzakis when she visited Sacramento that year as part of a series of events around the world marking the centennial of the birth of Nikos Kazantzakis. It was thrilling to see her eyes dance as she spoke of Nikos and their journey together.

The vision and friendship of Athan Karras, a Los Angeles-based dancer, director, and actor who was born in Greece, has been a vital link in my own journey, for his name is synonymous with Greek dance. In 1993, he directed and starred in a Greek version of Kazantzakis's "Kapetan Mihalis" in Los Angeles.

Cypriot Actor Photos Photiades performs the monologue of Dionysos from Euripides' "Bacchae" at the Temple of Apollo near Limassol, Cyprus, in 1993. The three sleeping women of the chorus will be awakened by his words.

In August 1993, I took part, as an actress, in a special television tribute to Euripides on CYBC (the Cyprus Broadcasting Company). The program was filmed at ancient Amathous, the Temple of Apollo, and the Curium Theater near Limassol, and, in the program, Euripides' plays were performed in ancient Greek, modern Greek, and English.

The message of the program was that Euripides' work was universal in its appeal, no matter what language it was performed in. I performed Agave's lament from "Bacchae" in English. Cypriot actor Photos Photiades was the lead actor and director of the broadcast which was produced by the Program Director for CYBC, Andreas Ioannou.

My sabbatical of the spring of 1995 will draw me back to Cyprus—this land of haunting spirits—to collaborate with artists from Cyprus, Greece, and England in analyzing and performing classical Greek and Shakespearean texts. I now know that the next steps in my journey are toward Cyprus and that, as a Greek and as an artist, I am unwilling to simply feel sad for Cyprus, but am resolved to take action for Cyprus.

Through the arts, the Greek spirit can travel and shine, and its light burns brightest. Please support and encourage the artist's expression of all that the Greek spirit represents in this journey. We are all part of the dance.

PATTERNS OF "GREEKNESS" IN DIASPORA LITERATURE: THE AUSTRALIAN EXPERIENCE

by Dr. George Kanarakis

Dr. George Kanarakis is Senior Lecturer and Coordinator of the Greek Studies Program at Charles Sturt University, Bathurst, New South Wales, Australia. He is a member of the Board of Studies Modern Greek Syllabus Committee and the Western Region Multicultural Committee, both part of the New South Wales Department of Education. In addition, Dr. Kanarakis is on the Consultative Committee of the Australian Multicultural Literature Collection. His books include The Literary Presence of the Greeks in Australia, *1985, and* Greek Voices in Australia: A Tradition of Prose, Poetry, and Drama, *1987. He holds a doctorate in Comparative Linguistics from the University of Athens and an M.A. in Applied Linguistics from Indiana University.*

"Greekness" is the ethnic identity of the Greek people and should not be confused with "Hellenism," which pertains to a political or intellectual history. Like any form of ethnicity, Greekness is abstract and difficult to adequately define. In addition, it is not static, but is reshaped over time and place and, therefore, has no singular meaning.

An investigation of the Greeks of both Greece and the diaspora reveals patterns of Greekness which provide variety among the arts and letters of the Greek diaspora communities.

The Greek community is the second-largest non-English-speaking ethnic group in Australia. The first-generation immigrants, their children raised in Australia, and later generations of Greek descent demonstrate the concept of

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THE SENSE OF "GREEKNESS" IN LITERATURE AND THE ARTS AMONG DIASPORA GREEKS

The oral versifier Nikos Kallinikos (1884-1976) from Ithaca, the earliest known figure in the literature of the Greeks in Australia. The sketch was done by the Melbourne-based poet and prose writer Nikos Ninolakis (1923-1982).

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Greekness in different ways. The culture of the first-generation Greeks is the culture they brought with them from Greece at the time of their departure, a culture which remains static despite the fact that the culture in Greece is continuously changing. Their children, however, usually become bicultural. The Greek influence on those born in Australia of Australian-born Greek parents is weaker still and often disappears.

An examination of the patterns of Greekness in the Greek- and English-language poetry, prose, and drama written by representatives of all three categories of the Greek community in Australia reveals that, in terms of number and variety, the works of first-generation immigrant writers markedly outnumber those of the other two categories. Thematically, the patterns are historical, patriotic, political, religious, and social.

Two examples of the portrayal of Greekness in various historical periods are the prose chronicle *The Culprits of the Calamity: History Testifies*, by Alex Agelidis, and the poem "To Cyprus" by Nikos Ninolakis. In Agelidis' work, Greekness appears strongly in the form of deep sorrow and mourning over the loss of Vassilevoussa ("the ruling city:" Constantinople) as the last stronghold of Hellenism and Greek Orthodoxy. In the poem by Ninolakis, Greekness takes the form of anger and a cry for punishment for the wrongdoers in the modern history of Cyprus.

Patriotic patterns of Greekness in literature are fewer in number than historical patterns, and political patterns are a relatively recent phenomenon in the Greek literature of Australia.

Certain works concerning Greek Orthodoxy, often considered one of the elements of Greek ethnicity, attempt to maintain Greek Orthodoxy, not only in the face of other religions, but specifically in the form in which it existed in the homeland. This tendency is reflected in a humorous way by the bilingual writer James Galanis in his Greek-language short story "The Baptism."

The discord between the Greek Orthodox Church and the Greek community in Australia in the past, particularly in relation to its consequences on families and the *paroikia* (Greek community abroad), is portrayed in the one-act play "The Grandmother," written by George Payzis in 1970. Mr. Payzis was pressured not to stage it, and it was never performed. The Church-community discord occurred primarily in Sydney in the late 1920s and flared up again in the 1960s.

Dimitris Tsaloumas skillfully blends ancient Greek mythology and Christianity in his poem "Gods," where "life proved wretched" for Chronos and his son Zeus, as well as for Christ.

The social pattern of Greekness is by far the largest and most diverse theme in Greek literature in Australia. Many works explore the theme of *xenitia*: the longing for the homeland, the loss of loved ones left behind, the odysseic dream of return, and alienation in the new land. However, the Greek community in Australia is often seen as a social locus where Greekness can be expressed and where Greek values and traditions can be upheld. The *kafeneion*, the traditional Greek coffee-house, plays an important social and psychological role since it provides a support network for Greek immigrants. This role is expressed in the older literature, especially. In the following excerpts from his poem "Café-Habitués," pre-war writer Elias Bizannes writes:

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The poet Elias Bizannes (1898-1975), writer of the poem "Café-Habitués."

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When you want to learn news
from your homeland, well yes—
where will you find your compatriots,
where else—in the café.

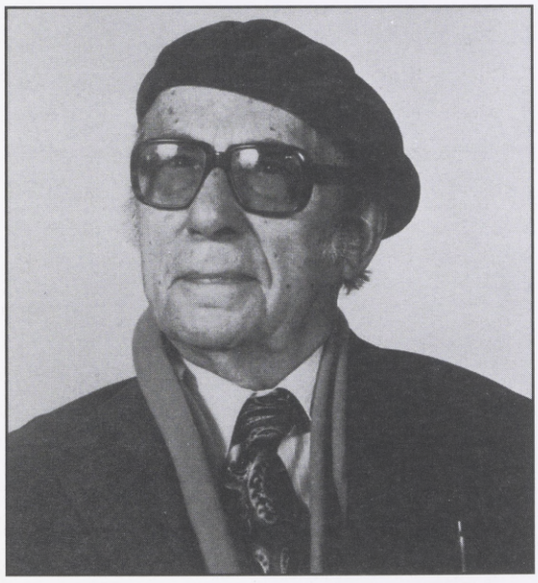
[. . . .]

And when you want some conversation
and to drink a cup of coffee,
where will you go and take a seat
where else—in the café.

In the café, all together
we while our time away
and with coffee thick and sweet
we extinguish our longing.

In her diachronic approach to examining the social pattern of Greekness, playwright Sophia Cathariou, in her play "Iphigenia South of Capricorn," blends the theme of the ancient Greek myth of Iphigenia with the modern Iphigenia, the Greek immigrant woman of Australia. She reinforces her diachronic approach and the Greekness of the play with the use of the chorus and rhythmic movement borrowed from ancient Greek drama along with the choreography of modern Greek folk dancing. The play gives a new social perspective to the tragic deed of personal sacrifice.

Greek writers in Australia have used forms and styles found in ancient, medieval, and modern Greek literature. The Cypriot writer Theodore Xenophou has given a heroic spirit to his work



Poet and playwright George Payzis (1893-1984), who wrote the play "The Grandmother."

The cover page of the first issue of the Greek-Australian periodical Ikoyenia *which was published from 1951 to 1964. "The Baptism," by James Galanis, appeared in a later issue of this periodical.*

Shining Darkness about the coup against Archbishop Makarios, the president of Cyprus, in July 1974 and the subsequent Turkish invasion of Cyprus. He has employed Homer's epic form by using the modern, fifteen-syllable line of Greek folk poetry, rather than the ancient dactylic hexameter which modern Greek does not allow for, to produce a poetic composition of 7,221 lines.

The form, style, and language of the poem "Canticles" are all Byzantine, bringing to mind the canticles (hymns to the Virgin Mary) of the Greek Orthodox Church. However, the content of "Canticles" is satirical, referring to the discord between the Greek Orthodox Church and the Greek community in Australia mentioned above. This poem was published under the pen name *Trypossakoulo* (A Bag Full of Holes). The real identity of the author has not been determined.

The works of the first-generation immigrants are usually highly emotional. In contrast, the works of their children generally reflect Greekness in a more emotionally-restrained manner, placing a great deal of emphasis on the psychological and social problems experienced by Greek children raised in Australia. Novelist Tony Maniaty has only one Greek parent, and, in his novel *Smyrna*, he says, "I have a clearer idea of what it is to be Greek than what it is to be Australian. . . "

The number of writers in Australia whose grandparents, but not parents, were born in Greece is still very small, and it is too early to draw conclusions about the Greekness in their works.

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Editor's Note: The opinions expressed in the interviews, papers, and speeches in this newsletter do not necessarily reflect the views of the Vryonis Center. The Center is an academic institution which provides a forum for scholars with a broad diversity of opinions.

The Vryonis Center did not publish a Spring 1994 newsletter because of the extensive planning required in preparation for the May 12-14, 1994 conference on "Greeks in English-Speaking Countries: Culture, Identity, Politics." The program for the conference was mailed to everyone on our mailing list last spring.

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